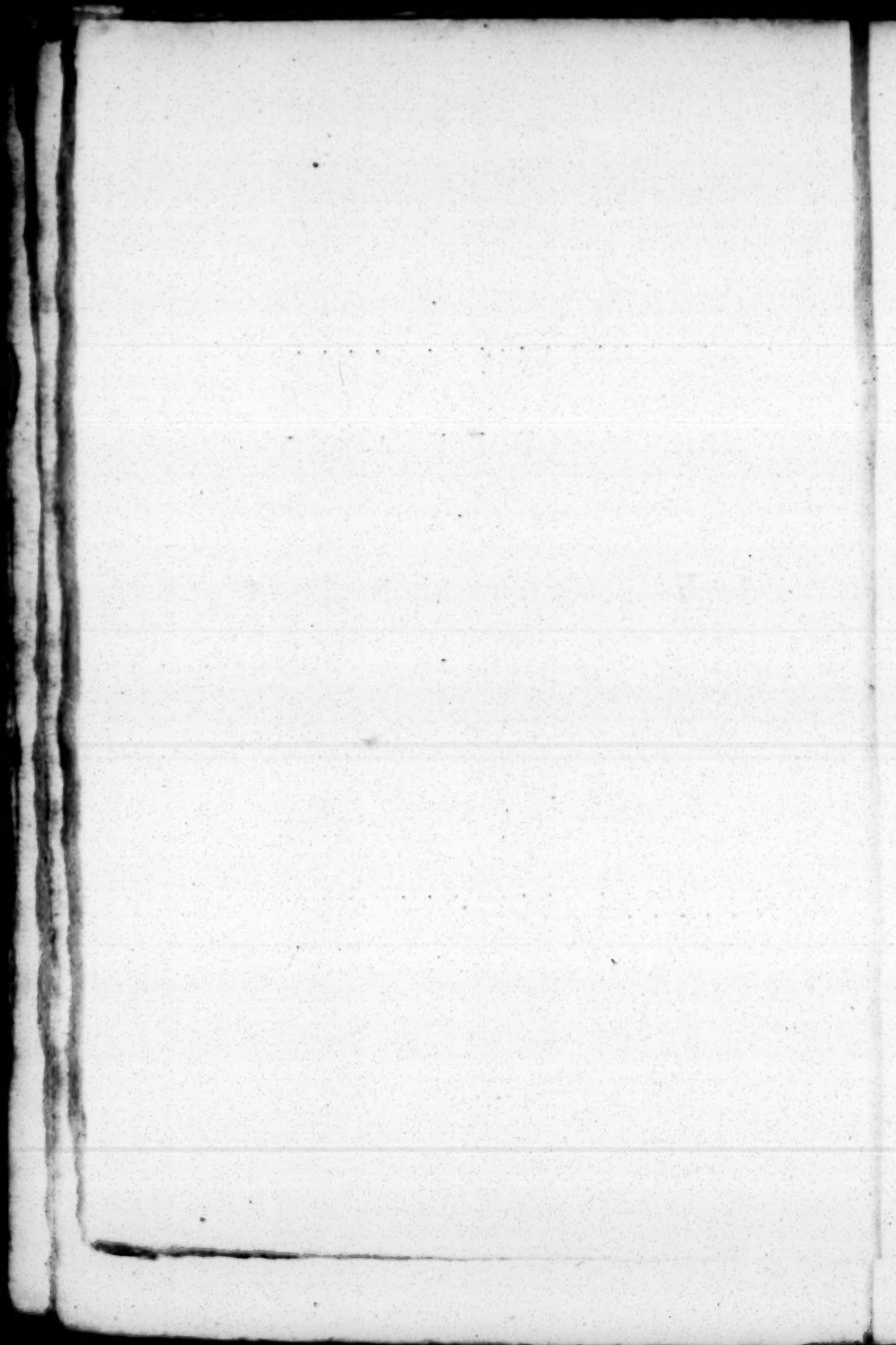

C O N S P I R A C Y
O F T H E
S P A N I A R D S
A G A I N S T
T H E R E P U B L I C O F
V E N I C E.



THE
CONSPIRACY
OF THE
SPANIARDS
AGAINST THE
REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

Translated from the French of the Abbé St. Real:

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P R E F A C E.

THERE have been already two translations of this history into English. The first, which is a very bad one, appeared in sixteen hundred and seventy-five, the year after the publication of the original, and is now out of print: besides its being written in a very stiff unnatural stile the sense of the author is mistaken in above a hundred places. The other is by Croxal, and was never published separately, but is to be met with in one of the six volumes of his novels. This last-mentioned translation is not absolutely bad; yet the sense is mistaken in

in about a dozen places ; and it is written in a stile too low : it is, however, unaffected, and in some parts not inelegant. I have more than once made use of his very words for several lines together ; for a translator to avoid the expressions of a former version, where those expressions are easier and better than any others that he can produce, is a ridiculous piece of vanity. By this childish affectation of avoiding the words of those who have gone before them, our translators have sometimes given a great stiffness to their performances.

The original of what I here offer the public is allowed to be one of the best narratives that ever yet appeared
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in the world. Voltaire seems to prefer it even to the works of Sallust. No story indeed can be told in a clearer or a more animated manner. The introduction too is admirable, and strongly speaks the man of sense.

For what remains, the Abbé de Saint Real is one of the most sensible and most spirited of the French writers. He was, indeed, a native of Savoy; but I call him a French writer as having written in French, and as always speaking of France, where he settled, as his own country. He had great insight into the human mind: his observations are just and interesting: his sense lies in a small compass, but without

without obscurity ; and his stile, though there occurs now-and-then a provincial expression not of the purest French, is easy and nervous. Upon the whole, France has produced but few writers that have more merit ; and there is room to wonder that we have not his works in English, while we have translations of numbers of authors of that nation greatly his inferiors.

It will be needless to inform such as have any acquaintance with the drama, that this conspiracy is the subject of the tragedy of *Venice Preserv'd*.

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THE

CONSPIRACY OF THE SPANIARDS

AGAINST THE

REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

OF all human enterprizes conspiracies are the greatest. Courage, conduct, and fidelity, equally requisite in all concerned, are qualities uncommon, even singly considered ; but it is extraordinary indeed to find them all united in the same person. As men often flatter themselves with the idea of being beloved in a higher degree than they really are, especially if they have endeavoured to gain that love, and are conscious of deserving it, some leaders of conspiracies rely intirely on the affection of their associates : but few friendships are stronger than the fear of death ; if this affection be violent, it perverts the judgment in every unexpected event ; the necessary dis-

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cretion is wanting; most men when they passionately desire a thing being too apt to discover their wishes.

Suppose a conspirator endowed with such understanding, that no indiscretion is to be apprehended on his part, it will be observed he seldom engages himself so warmly in an enterprize as others: he knows too well the greatness and the probability of danger to which he is exposed; and the different plans he may pursue in order to disengage himself: he sees, in a word, that the advantages he may draw from the enterprize are doubtful, whilst by discovering it to those against whom it is formed his reward is certain.

It must likewise be considered that the abilities of men are, for the most part, the result of their experience, and that their reasonings are seldom just in matters unpractised. Even the wisest are such as are indebted to their errors for the prudence they have acquired, and who have drawn from those errors rules for their subsequent conduct.

But, as no comparison can be formed, whether we consider the danger or the difficulty,

between a conspiracy and any other kind of enterprize, so, whatever experience a man may have in other things, it can supply him with no light which can enable him to form deductions for his conduct in conspiracies. To guard against capital errors in a conspiracy, a man should have been already engaged in one. But few people ever embark in a second : For, where the first succeeds, the advantages resulting to the conspirator secure him against the necessity of exposing himself to a second danger : if it miscarry, he perishes : or, if by chance he escape, he will hardly be brought to run the same risk again.

To these obstacles must be added, that how much soever we may detest a tyrant, self-love is ever stronger than our hatred of others : and it is not sufficient that the conspirators are faithful, unless each of them be likewise convinced of the fidelity of his associates ; that a leader ought to have a serious regard to all the panick fears, and the most absurd imaginations that may seize them, as well as to the most solid difficulties that may occur in the enterprize ; the first being, equally with the last, produc-

tive of ruin : that a word spoken on a foreign subject, or a gesture without design, may beget a suspicion of treachery and precipitate the execution : as also that a circumstance of time or place, in itself of no consequence, may yet occasion much surprize and apprehension, merely as having been unforeseen : that, such is the nature of man, he fancies every one decyphers his heart, and he is apt to draw reasons from whatever is said or done in his presence to suspect that he is discovered : he who is conscious of guilt applies every thing to himself.

If the difficulties here mentioned are almost insuperable in designs formed against the life of a single person, what idea must we form of those which attack many at once ? which aim at the usurpation of a town or a whole state ; and consequently require more time to arrange, and greater numbers to execute ?

These considerations have ever made me look upon enterprizes of this kind as the most moral and instructive parts of history : and this is my inducement for publishing a

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conspiracy formed against the republic of Venice, about fifty-six years ago, by an ambassador of Spain then resident in that city.

I know not how far my judgment may have been seduced by my affection for the subject I have undertaken, but I must ingenuously acknowledge, that, in my apprehension, there never appeared more striking examples of the importance of prudence in human transactions, as well as of the influence of chance; the extent and limits of the mind of man; its grandest elevations and most concealed foibles; the infinite circumspection necessary in conducting others; with the difference between wisdom and subtlety, between ability and finesse. If malice be never more odious than when it abuses things the most excellent in themselves, we cannot but conceive the utmost horror when we perceive, from this history, the noblest qualities employed for the most detestable ends. Thus, of old, a Grecian sage observing a criminal, in the midst of the most cruel torments, support a falsehood with amazing fortitude, could not help exclaiming, "O wretch! who thus

" can't make so great a virtue subservient to
" so base a purpose."

THE differences between Paul the fifth and the republic of Venice having been terminated, by the mediation of France, with the honour due to the Holy See and the reputation justly claimed by the Venetians, the Spaniards alone found therein any cause for complaint. As they had declared in favour of the Pope, and offered to compel the Venetians to submit by force of arms, they were irritated that he should enter into a treaty with little or no regard to them. But having penetrated into the secret of the agreement, they found they had no reason to be dissatisfied with his holiness, and that the contempt which had been shewn them in this affair, proceeded wholly from the republic. It was the senate, who wished in some measure to exclude them from the mediation, urging that, after having discovered so great a partiality, the Spaniards could not be admitted as arbitrators.

How great soever their resentment was of this affront, they disguised it during the life

of

Henry the fourth. This prince's obligations to the Venetians were too well known: nor was the care he had taken of their interest, in their difference with the court of Rome, less known. But, his death having set the Spaniards at liberty, there was nothing wanting but a plausible pretext.

In the territories of the house of Austria on the Adriatic, contiguous to those of the Venetians, a band of pirates had established themselves, known by the name of Uscocks. These robbers, having committed numberless depredations on the subjects of the republic, were protected by the arch-duke, Ferdinand de Gratz, then sovereign of that country, and afterwards emperor. He was himself a very pious prince; but his ministers shared in the booty, and, being devoted to the court of Spain, they took this opportunity to revenge her on the Venetians. The emperor Matthias, moved by the just complaints of the Venetians, composed this difference at Vienna in the month of February 1612. But so ill was the agreement observed on the part of the arch-duke, that there was a necessity for com-

ing to an open war ; in which he did not gain so great an advantage as the Spaniards had promised themselves. The Venetians, by their prudent conduct, easily repaired the losses they had sustained in some slight engagements. Having at that time nothing to fear from the Turks, they were better able to support this war than the arch-duke. This prince was pressed by the emperor to make a peace, on account of the grand seignior's threatening Hungary. It was likewise necessary for him to lay up considerable sums, to facilitate his election to the kingdom of Bohemia ; which election was made soon after. The Spaniards would gladly have enabled him to continue the war ; but that in which they were at the same time engaged with Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, would by no means permit them to divide their forces. And, as that prince received large succours in money from the republic, they were never able to disunite him from it.

The council of Spain was highly incensed to find the Venetians every where making head against them. The mild and pacific dif-

disposition of Philip the Third, and of the duke of Lerma, his favourite, suggested to them no means of redress. But a minister of theirs, then resident in Italy, a man less cool and moderate, undertook to extricate them.

This was Don Alphonso de la Cueva, marquis of Bedamar, ambassador in ordinary at Venice, one of the most exalted geniuses and most dangerous spirits that Spain has ever produced. His own writings, still extant, speak him qualified with all endowments mentioned in ancient or modern history, that can contribute to form an extraordinary man. He compared passed events with the occurrences of his own time : he observed minutely the differences and resemblances of things ; and what alteration the circumstances, in which they differed, produced in those, in which they agreed : he usually formed a judgment of the issue of an enterprise as soon as he knew the plan and the foundation of it : if he found by the event that he had been mistaken, he traced his error back to its source, and endeavoured to discover

discover the cause of such mistake. By this study he became acquainted with the most certain methods and the most material circumstances, that presage success to great designs, and make them almost ever answer expectation. This continual practice of reading, meditating, and observing the transactions of the world, had raised him to so high a degree of sagacity that his conjectures on the future were looked upon, in the council of Spain, as amounting almost to prophecies. To this profound knowledge of the nature of important affairs were joined very singular talents for the management of them: a facility of expression, and a most captivating pleasingness of manner both in speaking and writing: an amazing penetration into the characters of men: an air always gay and open, with more fire than gravity; so remote at the same time from dissimulation as to have the appearance of pure nature: free and complaisant in his humour, and by so much the more impenetrable as every one imagined he penetrated into it: a deportment soft, insinuating, and endearing; whereby he wormed

wormed out the secrets even of hearts the least communicative : add to all an appearance of perfect ease and serenity of mind, even amidst the most cruel agitations.

The ambassadors of Spain had for some time past had a great ascendant in the courts where they resided : the marquis of Bedamar had been appointed for Venice so early as the year 1607, as by far the most difficult of all foreign employments, and in which he could derive no assistance from women, monks, or favourites. The council of Spain was so well satisfied with him that, however advantageous his services might have been to them in other places, they could not resolve, even after a six years residence, to recal him. So long a continuance there gave him leisure to study the principles of that government ; to discover its most hidden springs ; its strength, and its weakness ; every advantage and every defect.

As he foresaw that the arch-duke would be obliged to make peace, and that this peace must needs be dishonourable to Spain, she being

being in fault, he determined to undertake something that might prevent it. He imagined, that, considering the state in which Venice then was, it might not be impossible to make himself master of the place, by means of the intelligence he had procured, and the forces he might have for his support. Their armies had drained it of arms, and still more of men capable of bearing them. Their navy indeed had never been so flourishing ; the senate of consequence never thought themselves so formidable, nor ever were less apprehensive : yet this invincible fleet scarce dared to leave the coasts of Istria, at that time the seat of war. The land army was at as great a distance ; and there was nothing at Venice, that could oppose a descent of the Spanish fleet. To render this descent the more sure, the marquis of Bedamar was for seizing the principal posts ; such as the place of St. Mark and the arsenal. But, as it would be difficult to effect this while there reigned a perfect tranquillity in the town, he thought it would be expedient to set fire, at one and the same time, to all those places which

which would catch the soonest, and which it
was of the greatest importance to the Vene-
tians to succour.

He would not immediately write to Spain
about it. He well knew that princes do
not care to explain themselves on affairs of
such a nature, till they are so far advanced
that there is nothing wanting to put them in
execution, but an assurance of approbation,
in case they succeed. For the present, he
only signified to the duke of Uzeda, princi-
pal secretary of state, that, upon considering
the dishonour the house of Austria had in-
curred from the war in Friuli from the inso-
lent behaviour of the Venetians, and that
every scheme of accommodation which had
been pursued at Vienna, and elsewhere, was
ignominious to his court, he now looked upon
himself as in that situation, wherein nature
and good policy oblige a faithful subject to
have recourse to extraordinary methods, to
preserve his prince and his country from an
infamy otherwise inevitable: that this care
was especially incumbent on him, in conse-
quence of his present employment, wherein,
having

having constantly before his eyes the very sources of those evils which demanded redress, no one could better judge than himself what ought to be the remedy; and that he would endeavour to acquit himself of this duty in a manner worthy of the zeal he had for the glory of his master.

The duke of Uzeda, who perfectly well knew the man, easily comprehended that under this intelligence was concealed some project equally important and dangerous. But, as a wise man avoids the seeming to understand things of this nature farther than he is compelled to do, he did not communicate his thoughts to the chief minister, and answered the marquis no otherwise than in general terms; commending his zeal, and, as to the rest, relying intirely on his usual discretion.

The marquis, who expected no other answer, was not at all surprised to receive one in a style so cold; he applied his thoughts, therefore, to arrange his plans in such a manner as to secure to himself the approbation of his court.

There

There never existed in the world a monarchy which exercised an authority more absolute than that with which the senate of Venice governs that republic. An infinite difference is made even in the minutest things between the nobles and those who are not such. In all the countries dependent on the state, the nobles alone are capable of commanding. The greatest lords and the principal magistrates of those countries are in subjection to them, rather as to sovereigns than as to governors: and if, at any time, the senate confer eminent posts in their armies upon foreigners, it is on such conditions as oblige them to follow the opinion of the Venetian generalissimo, and leave them no more than the executive part.

As there is no pretext for loading the people with taxes so plausible as war, that of the Uscocks afforded those nobles, who had the management of it, a fine opportunity of enriching themselves. The charges of it were excessive. Besides the money remitted to Piedmont, there was a necessity at last to maintain, in a manner, a third army in

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Lombardy, to oppose the governor of Milan, who daily threatened them with a diversion in favour of the arch-duke.

The justice of the republic's cause made the commanders more bold to invent new oppressions, but did not make the people more patient in bearing them. And these oppressions were so great, that the marquis of Bedamar might reasonably assure himself that the revolution, which he was projecting, would be as agreeable to the people as it would be fatal to the nobles. Even among those nobles there were not a few, who were dissatisfied with the government. These were the partisans of the court of Rome. Some of them (and those the greatest number) men ambitious and revengeful, were incensed, that the affairs of the republic had been managed in a way contrary to their advice, during its disagreement with that court. These were ready to do or suffer any thing to wrest the power out of the hands of those who were in possession of it : and they would have beheld the misfortunes of the state with joy, as the consequences of a conduct

duct they had not approved. Others, shallow and ignorant, were for being more catholic than the Pope himself. As he had abated of his pretensions in the accommodation already mentioned, they conceived that he had been obliged to it out of policy, and that, if a mental reservation could take place in an affair of that nature, it was to be feared the excommunication still subsisted in the intentions of his holiness. Of this number were several senators as poor in their fortunes as in their understandings. These became very serviceable to the designs of the marquis of Bedamar, after he had persuaded them by the powerful argument of doing them kindness, that, since that negociation, no man could be a Venetian with a safe conscience.

Notwithstanding the rigorous injunctions against the nobility's holding correspondence with foreigners, he had found means to establish an intimate intelligence with the most necessitous and the most dissatisfied among them. Had any one of these a woman nearly related to him in a religious house, a mistress, or an ecclesiastic whom he made his confidant,

he purchased the acquaintance of those people at any price. He made them presents, which, though they were, for the most part, only curiosities of foreign countries, were nevertheless of great value. These liberalities, which seemed to be dispensed from a pure motive of generosity, gave encouragement to the receivers to hope for something still more considerable. In view of this they fully satisfied his curiosity upon all those points of which he inquired. They even took care to inform themselves of all those things, of which they had not yet a thorough knowledge, that they might be able to answer all his questions : and, his acknowledgments still exceeding their expectations, they had no rest till they had engaged their patrons in this commerce. It is probable that poverty was the cause of the accession of these nobles. We may suppose they could not, but with an eye of envy, see their dependents grow richer than themselves by presents, that were made to those dependents purely on their account. Be that as it may, no deliberations in the senate were, from that time, a secret to the

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Spanish ambassador. He was apprized of all the resolutions taken there : and the generals of the arch-duke had notice of such as related to the war before those of the republic had orders to execute them.

With all this intelligence, the ambassador had occasion for a considerable number of troops, to succeed in his enterprize. But, as the Spaniards had a powerful army in Lombardy, he was in no fear of wanting them, provided he had a governor of Milan capable of entering into his designs. The marquis of Inojosa, then governor of that place, was too closely connected with the duke of Savoy to hearken to them. He had very lately signed the treaty of Ast, of which France and the Venetians had been the mediators between that prince and himself. The ambassador, who knew this negociation would not be approved of at the court of Spain, writ thither to have him recalled, and at the same time solicited Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa-Franca, his intimate friend, to make interest for the government of Milan.

Don Pedro had orders to depart immediately and replace Inojosa (this was about the latter end of the year 1615); and he was no sooner arrived at Milan than he gave notice of it at Venice by the marquis De Lara. The ambassador communicated his project to this marquis in the manner that he judged the most proper to make it relished: and he chiefly recommended it to him to inform himself whether the new governor could spare him fifteen hundred men from his best troops upon occasion. Don Pedro, charmed with the greatness of the undertaking, determined to second it as much as might lie in his power, without exposing himself to certain ruin, in case of its not succeeding. He dispatched the marquis De Lara a second time to Venice, to assure the ambassador of it. He intreated him at the same time to consider, that, in sending him the body of men he required, it would be necessary to select them with great nicety; and that, should they happen to be destroyed, his having exposed so many of his bravest soldiers to so manifest a danger would be thought to be without excuse.

cuse. He would, however, send him as many as he was able, and would pick them with so much care, that he would be answerable for their behaviour.

Nothing was of greater moment to the ambassador's purpose than to prevent an accommodation of any kind. In this view, he obliged the marquis De Lara to make very unreasonable proposals of peace to the Senate, as from the governor of Milan. The senate answered them with indignation (as had been easily foreseen) and refused to treat. Don Pedro likewise omitted nothing on his part to exasperate matters still more. The duke of Mantua was of himself but little disposed to grant that pardon to his rebellious subjects, which he had promised by the treaty of Ast ; and he was now encouraged to be obstinate on that article, and to continue the executions he had begun amongst them. Such proposals were likewise made to the duke of Savoy, for the fulfilling that treaty, as it was well known he would not accept : and they excused their not disarming (as he had done, and as they ought) under pretence of the

war in Friuli ; in which Spain could no longer with honour avoid taking part. The Venetian army had already passed the Lizzonzo, and laid siege to Gradisca, the capital of the arch-duke's dominions. The council of Spain, which had hitherto appeared neuter, seeing they were for dispossessing that prince entirely, threatened to declare.

At this time ended the misunderstanding, which had subsisted in the house of Austria between the branch of Spain and that of Germany ever since the disagreement of the son and the brother of Charles the Fifth, in regard to the succession to the empire. The interest the Spaniards took in this war was the first token of that reconciliation. Don Pedro ordered the camp-master Gambalotta to advance near Crema with some troops. He likewise caused four-and-twenty pieces of battery to be mounted at Pavia ; which, as he gave out, were shortly to accompany a body of eight thousand men commanded by Don Sancho de Luna. On the other hand, the viceroy of Naples, then cruising in the Mediterranean, threatened to attack the duke

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of Savoy at Villa-Franca. He shut up the passage to all the succours that were coming to the republic by sea, and was every day preparing to enter the gulph, in order to keep the Venetian fleet in awe.

The Venetian ministers having made loud complaints in all the foreign courts of the violence of this proceeding, the marquis of Bedamar undertook to justify it. He even conceived it would be of importance to his design to overthrow the very foundations of the high esteem all Europe had for so many ages entertained for this republic, as for the most ancient of all states, and the most free. This freedom had lately been proved, and magnified more than ever, on the occasion of their difference with the pope, by several writings, which hitherto had been thought invincible, though the contrary party were not destitute of able pens to answer them. The ambassador, having examined them afresh, refuted in a few chapters the numerous volumes of the Venetian writers, without doing any one of them the honour to name him. And, as

in subjects of this nature there is no question which an ingenious man may not render problematick, he, under pretence of maintaining the emperor's right over Venice, shewed that the independence of this republic was a mere chimera, as well as its sovereignty over the seas. As it was improper for his purpose that he should be known to be the author of this libel, he caused it to be published so artfully, that it was never discovered during his life that he had any hand in it. It appears indeed strange that he was not suspected. But the Venetians (it is probable) did not yet thoroughly know him. The wildness and vivacity that marked his conduct in publick did not permit them to think that a man of so impetuous a character could be the author of a stale satyr of the most refined delicacy. Equity and candour seemed to reign throughout the whole of it: and the declamations against the outrages of the Venetians, that were interspersed here and there, were restrained within the bounds of a seeming moderation, which was alone sufficient to give them a plausibility. This work, which had

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for title Squittinio della liberta Veneta, made a great noise. Ignorant as they were of the author, the suspicion fell naturally on the court of Rome, by reason of the preceding publications. The learned among the senate apprehended that every one felt the force of it in the same degree with themselves. The loss of a battle would not have struck them with such consternation : and father Paul had orders to examine it. This man, who had sported with the other writers of that party, declared that this last ought not to be answered : for that it could not be done, without bringing to light certain things, which it would be more prudent to leave concealed in the darkness of antiquity ; nevertheless, if the senate judged it concerned the dignity of the republic to resent this outrage, he would undertake to reduce the court of Rome to such difficulties in defending itself, that it should no longer have leisure for attacking others. This advice, which was followed in the first heat of their resentment, gave father Paul the pleasure of publishing his beloved history of the council of Trent, which would

would not have appeared during his life, had it not been for this opportunity.

Mean while, the campaign of the year 1616 having passed without any considerable advantage on either side, the duke of Savoy and the Venetians, unwilling to expose to the hazard of a second the honour they had already gained, impowered Gritti, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, to revive the negotiation. The Spaniards, irritated at the resistance they had found, made such unreasonable proposals, that the treaty came to nothing. The blockade of Gradisca continued. Hostilities did not cease during the winter: and the armies took the field in the spring, with an ardour that seemed to promise greater events than those of the preceding year.

The truce, which Holland had made, having rendered the major part of her troops unnecessary, and reduced the French and German adventurers to seek for employment elsewhere, the counts of Nassau and Lieve-stein brought 8000 men, Hollanders and Walloons, to the service of the republic. Hereupon the Spaniards complained loudly
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to the pope, that the Venetians exposed Italy to the infection of heresy by the introduction of these soldiers. But the Venetian ambassador signified to him, that it was not so much a concern for religion that induced the Spaniards to talk thus, as the uneasiness they felt at seeing two potent republics unite their forces against them.

The marquis of Bedamar would have been not a little embarrassed, had the pope obliged the Venetians to dismiss those troops. Soldiers, who serve a foreign prince, having for the most part only their private advantage in view, he hoped to engage the leaders of these hired troops in his design by presents in money, and the expectation of the plunder of Venice.

He cast his eye for the negotiating this affair on an old French gentleman, named Nicholas Renault, a man of sense and talents, who had taken refuge at Venice for some cause that was never discovered. The marquis of Bedamar had seen him for a considerable time at the French ambassador's, where he lived. In some accidental conversations they had had together, Renault found the
marquis

marquis to be a man of as great ability as he was reported. And the marquis, well pleased to have at the French ambassador's a friend of Renault's character, entered into a close intimacy with him. This man, though extremely indigent, valued virtue more than riches; but glory more than virtue: and, when justifiable means to obtain that glory were wanting, none were so criminal which he was not capable of embracing. He had contracted, by his acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, that indifference for life so seldom to be found, which is the first foundation of all extraordinary designs; and he was ever regretting those celebrated times, when the merit of private persons made the destiny of states; and when none, who had that merit, wanted either the means or opportunities to display it to the world. The marquis, who had studied him thoroughly, and who stood in need of a man to whom he could intirely trust the management of his enterprize, declared, when he imparted it to him, that he had had his eye fixt upon him from the very beginning. Renault esteemed him-

himself more obligated by this assurance than he would have been by any commendations whatsoever. The advanced age in which he was, did not make him decline the undertaking : the less time he had to live, the less he had to risk : and he conceived that he could not better employ the melancholy remainder of his life than in hazarding it to render his name immortal. The marquis gave him bills of exchange and letters of credit to treat with the chief of the Dutch officers. He gave it to him in charge not to unfold the design, but barely to signify, that, matters being so imbibited as they were between the republic and the house of Austria, the Spanish ambassador at Venice foresaw a certain conjuncture, wherein his person might be exposed to the fury of the populace of that city, and therefore desired, for his safety, to secure to himself a considerable number of faithful and brave friends. The pretence was frivolous : but even the thinnest veil is of great use in affairs of this kind. It matters but little that some mystery is suspected, provided it be not unravelled. By this

this he hoped to debauch the flower of the Venetian army, and that the rest would be left so weak that it would be easy for Don Pedro to defeat them on the way, should they be sent for to Venice to oppose the conspirators.

Their sea-forces were far more to be dreaded. These had been long accustomed to victory, and could much more easily be called home. The men were chiefly natural subjects of the republic : and there was no room to doubt that, upon the first news of the conspiracy, the navy would make all speed to Venice. Its being defeated by the Spanish fleet was a circumstance very precarious ; and it was not prudent to trust to the hazard of a battle the success of an enterprize big with danger. It was necessary therefore to contrive some expedient to render this fleet incapable of serving : for which reason the ambassador, who was less conversant in maritime affairs than the viceroy of Naples, who commanded the sea-forces of Spain, thought it requisite to consult him upon that subject.

This viceroy, who was to be the principal actor in the tragedy the ambassador was composing, was the duke of Ossuna, so famous for his gallantries; a man of as enterprizing a spirit as Don Pedro or the marquis of Bedamar. This conformity of disposition had established a close connection between these three ministers. Don Pedro and the duke of Ossuna were not great in the cabinet. The duke was even sometimes subject to caprices that bordered upon extravagance. But the deference they both paid to the marquis of Bedamar supplied the ability which they wanted.

The profits accruing from piracy to such as practise it under some powerful protection, had drawn to the court of the viceroy of Naples all the notorious pirates of the Mediterranean. This viceroy, who had a fertile brain for extraordinary designs, and who was rather profuse than avaricious, did not protect them so much for the share he gained of their booty, as for the sake of having always near him a considerable number of people ready to attempt any thing. Not barely

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content to give them a reception, he no sooner heard of any one of uncommon merit than he endeavoured to gain him, and did him so many kindnesses as infallibly attached him to his person. He had acted thus towards one known by the name of captain James Pierre, a Norman by Birth, and a man so excellent in this trade, that all others of the profession gloried in having learnt it from him. The mind of this man was free from the barbarity of that class of people. Having gained wherewithal to support him decently, he resolved to quit it, though he was yet in the prime of life : and he chose the dominions of the duke of Savoy for his retreat. This prince, who was captivated with all uncommon talents, and who understood their value so much the better as nature had given him a liberal portion of them, knowing this pirate by reputation to be one of the bravest men existing, willingly permitted him to settle at Nice. All maritime people, who frequented that coast, soldiers, officers, or sailors, constantly paid their court to the captain. His advice was to them an oracle. He was sovereign

reign arbitrator of their differences : and they thought they could never sufficiently admire a man, who had quitted a profession in which he was so well skilled, and which was the hardest of any to lay down. Of this number was one Vincent Robert of Marseilles, who, landing in Sicily, where the duke of Ossuna was then viceroy, received such kind treatment from this governor that he engaged in his service. The duke, understanding this Robert to be an intimate friend of the captain's, complained to him in a familiar manner of his friend's having preferred the dominions of the duke of Savoy to his government for a retreat. He accompanied these complaints with professions of the high esteem he had for the captain on account of his courage and experience in sea-affairs ; and concluded with assurances that nothing which depended on him should be wanting to draw to his court a man of such singular merit. Robert undertook this commission with joy : and it was supported by such advances on the part of the viceroy that the captain was

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constrained to yield, and to go and settle in Sicily with his wife and children. As he had not yet lost sight of the sea, he was not entirely weaned from the passion he had entertained for that element. The viceroy had lately built several beautiful galleons: and some Turkish caravans richly freighted were on their voyage with such slender convoys that the captain had not power to withstand the temptation. He found no reason to repent. He made an incredible booty: and the duke of Ossuna, who from that time treated him with the affection and the familiarity of a brother, suffered him to keep the greatest part of it, on condition of his following him to Naples (whither he was going by the king's order, to reside as governor) and of his making a voyage from thence to Provence, to intice as many as he could of the best seamen he knew upon that coast. The captain brought away a sufficient number to man five large vessels, which belonged to the Viceroy himself, over which he gave him

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an absolute authority. With this small fleet he plundered with impunity all the islands and coasts of the Levant, and concluded his first expedition with a fierce engagement, in which he either took or sunk a numerous squadron of Turkish gallies.

It was at this time that the marquis of Bedamar communicated his design to the duke of Ossuna, being well assured he should find no difficulty to engage him in it. The duke, who aspired to the sovereignty of those seas, wished for nothing more ardently than to destroy those alone who could dispute it with him, but who were not so easily to be defeated as the Turks. On this subject, therefore, he opened himself to the captain, and proposed to him the difficulties he foresaw. The captain did not think them insurmountable: and, after some days of private conference with the duke, he left Naples abruptly, and in attire that denoted precipitation and terror. The viceroy dispatched people in pursuit of him every way,

except that which he had taken, with orders to seize him dead or alive. His wife and children were imprisoned, and kept from that day, to all outward appearance, in great misery. All that belonged to him was confiscated ; and the duke's anger burst out with such fury that all Naples was amazed, though his violent temper had been well known for a long time.

As the captain did not appear less active than the viceroy, their misunderstanding was easily believed ; and it was supposed that he had attempted something against Spain, or against the duke's interest and his particular designs. In the mean time he returned to his first asylum. The duke of Savoy was then at open war with the Spaniards, and was known for the most generous of all princes. Though he had expressed some disgust at the captain's leaving his territories, to remove into Sicily, the impostor made no difficulty to go and throw himself at his feet. He related to him several invented stories concerning

cerning the viceroy's designs against the republic of Venice ; designs horrible to thought ; but which had nothing in common with the true one : and he added, that, being restrained by honour from engaging in them, he had meditated an escape from Naples with his family and fortune ; but that, finding the viceroy had discovered his intention, he had been obliged to fly in that wretched attire, to avoid the effects of his fury, and to abandon all that he held most dear in the world to the discretion of the most cruel of men. The duke of Savoy was moved with pity at this melancholy account, and received him with open arms. He told the pirate that, his own interests being blended with those of the republic, he took upon himself to reward him for the service he should render to the common cause, should the Venetians neglect him ; and added, that it highly imported the senate to be informed from his own mouth of the designs of the duke of Ossuna : having exhorted him to bear his misfortunes like a man of

spirit, he equipped him with every necessary, gave him a noble present, and dispatched him for Venice, with letters of credence and recommendation. The Venetians shewed themselves no less compassionate than the duke of Savoy. The flight, the tears, the poverty, the despair of the captain, his reputation, and the hopes that he would bring over to their service the great number of brave men he had engaged in the service of the duke of Ossuna ; but above all the report made of that duke's intentions, which he had taken care to invent as probable as was necessary ; spoke so powerfully in his favour, that they immediately gave him the command of a ship. Nevertheless, Contarini, their ambassador at Rome, remonstrated by letters, that this man, as coming from the viceroy, was by all means to be suspected. But fear, which had produced in the minds of the Venetians a credulity that is ever the consequence of that passion, got the better of this prudent suggestion.

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Not long after, the fleet putting to sea, the captain, who knew how much it import'd that he shou'd signalize himself, made such considerable prizes on the Uscocks, in consequence of commissions he had procured to pursue them, that, upon his return from this expedition, eleven ships more were added to his squadron. He gave an account of his successes to the duke of Ossuna, and concluded his letter with the following words :
“ If these Pantaloons prove always as easy
“ of belief as they have shewn themselves
“ hitherto, I dare assure your excellency I
“ shall not lose my time among them.” He
wrote likewise to all those of his comrades whom he had left at Naples, to invite them into the service of the republic. It was no difficult matter to seduce them : for, upon his escape, the viceroy, pretending to suspect them, treated them as ill as till that time he had used them well. He made great complaints of the protection the republic had granted the captain ; and, by way of revenge,

drew the Uscocks into his government, whom the Venetian arms had driven from their asylum. Under his protection they began to repeat their depredations. They took a large vessel which was coming from Corfu to Venice, and sold the booty of it publickly under his standard. He violated the freedom of ports, made considerable reprisals for light offences, persisted in a non-compliance to the orders he received from Spain to restore what he had seized, and published a manifesto to justify his disobedience. He sent a large fleet to cruise in the Adriatic, and caused the prizes it took from the Venetians to be brought into Naples in triumph. In a word, he ruined their commerce even at the expence of the Neapolitans themselves, who were concerned therein; and, when the farmers of the revenue offered to complain, he threatened to hang them. There being at that time no declared war between Spain and the republic, the Venetians were astonished at a proceeding so irregular. It was almost

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unanimously imputed to the wild temper of the duke of Ossuna : but some few of the best understanding, who knew that madmen of this kind are very serviceable when judiciously employed, believed that the Spaniards made use of the caprices of the duke to take such steps as they neither wished to acknowledge nor support. His familiar discourses ran upon the surprizing the ports of Istria belonging to the republic, the plundering their islands, and perhaps making a descent upon Venice itself. He studied the plan of this city with his courtiers ; caused exact draughts to be made of its environs ; barks, brigantines, and other small vessels, to be built for all sorts of channels ; and trials to be made of the weight the several depths of water were capable of bearing ; and was every day inventing new machines, to lessen the weight of vessels and facilitate their motion.

The Venetian resident at Naples gave regular notice of all this, to the great mortification of the marquis of Bedamar, who now

now began to repent of having any connection with a man of so wild a conduct. But he was deceived in the event : for the viceroy acted all these things with so much noise that they were only matter of ridicule to the Venetians. Even the most sagacious among them could by no means imagine that any thing of a serious nature was concealed under such open proceedings. The duke therefore continued his preparations as long he thought proper, without giving the least umbrage : and that very indiscretion which should naturally have ruined the enterprize, promoted it more than all the circumspection of the marquis of Bedamar.

The marquis, however, judged it necessary to hasten the execution ; as well to deprive the Venetians of leisure for reflection, as on account of the danger to which his person was continually exposed. The Venetian fleet having offered battle to that of Spain, which declined it, and having pillaged the coast

coast of * Puglia, the rabble at Venice conceived at this a joy so insolent that the ambassador, with his whole family, would have been infallibly murdered, had not guards been sent for their protection. He received, however, the same day such intelligence from the camp before Gradisca as gave him consolation. Renault informed him he had found the troops in so happy a disposition that he soon finished his negociation. The ambassador ordered him to visit Milan in his return; where Don Pedro received him with all the caresses, usually practised by the great to blind the minds of such as sacrifice themselves for their interest. They agreed that it was requisite to have an eye to some town belonging to the Venetians on the Terra-firma which they might seize upon at the same time they attempted Venice: that this town would be a check upon the rest, and serve

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* Puglia is a district of the kingdom of Naples, called by the French La Pouille. The first translator not knowing what to make of it, has given it the French name. Croxal has translated it Puzzuolo; but Puzzuolo is the name of a town, not of a district or country.

as a place of arms for the Spanish army destined to attack them, and as a barrier against that of Venice, if it made any motion to succour them. Renault passed through the most considerable of those towns, and made some stay at Crema, in order to form a faction there by means of a French lieutenant (named John Berard), an Italian captain, and an ensign, a native of Provence, whom Don Pedro had already gained. These three engaged to conceal five hundred Spaniards in the town, without giving the least suspicion to the Venetian commander and to make themselves masters of it in eight days. Renault, having well examined matters upon the spot, judged the design to be almost infallible with that number of men. There was nothing to do but to cut the throats of a pitiful garrison drawn from the militia of the country, all the regular troops of the republic being either in the towns of Friuli, or in their armies.

The duke of Ossuna had also convinced the marquis of Bedamar of the expediency of their possessing some place belonging to the Venetians

tians in the gulph which might prove of advantage to the Uscocks and the arch-duke, and serve as a retreat for the Spanish fleet, should it be obliged by any accident to seek for a refuge in that sea. For this purpose they made choice of Maran, a strong place in an island bordering upon Istria, which had a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. An Italian named Mazza, who had been serjeant-major of it above forty years, had acquired almost as much authority there as the governor himself. In consideration of a large sum of money, and an assurance of the command of the place, he promised to one of the duke of Ossuna's emissaries to kill the governor upon the first orders, and to hold it afterwards in the name of the Spaniards. It was almost as easy for him to execute this promise as to make it. The governor, who was the proveditor Lorenzo Thiepolo, lived with him in great familiarity : and, the office of proveditor obliging this governor to be much upon the frontiers in time of war, he trusted the care of every thing within the town entirely to the serjeant-major, as to the
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oldest and most capable officer of the garrison.

Affairs being in this posture, the ambassador thought it high time to put the finishing hand to his work. By waiting longer, he might undoubtedly still have added much to the measures already taken; but delays (he well knew) are fatal to designs of this nature. It is not possible for all the different circumstances, that are capable of contributing to their success, to be in a proper degree of maturity at the same time. Some of them undergo a change while others are preparing. Whoever, therefore, is once so fortunate as to unite a sufficient number of them will be guilty of a capital error in letting slip the critical minute of so happy a conjuncture.

It highly concerned the honour of the crown of Spain, that, in case of a miscarriage, it should not be possible to convict their ambassador of having had any hand in the enterprise. For this reason he determined to discover himself to none of the conspirators, excepting Renault and the captain. Nor had even these two any knowledge of each

other. They never came to him but by his appointment: and he was always careful to appoint them different hours, that they might not meet. Should they chance to be discovered, it would be much the best for him that there had been no connection between them. He would therefore willingly have continued to make them act their several parts without being known one to the other, as he had hitherto done. But, having well considered of the matter, he judged it to be impracticable: and, despairing of success in his enterprize, unless he settled a perfect union between them, he resolved to break through this difficulty, how disagreeable soever it might prove. Both of them had courage and conduct, yet Renault valued himself chiefly on disposing things in such a manner that the execution should be easy, and the success infallible. The captain, on the contrary, who was far less advanced in years, prided himself in being a man of daring execution and dauntless intrepidity. To him the marquis revealed the several negotiations of Renault, apprizing him of this man's

man's great knowledge, which furnished him with expedients for every emergency ; his eloquence, and his dexterity in gaining new partisans ; his talents for writing, a qualification so necessary in a business of this nature, wherein it behoved them to have constant advice of the condition of the fleets, the provinces, and the armies : such a person he conceived would be of wonderful assistance to the captain : that he was an old man of great experience, who wanted neither courage nor steadiness ; but that his age, and his genius, more adapted to the cabinet than fit for action, rendered him incapable of sharing with the captain the glory of the execution. As for Renault, he only signified to him that the captain was a man devoted to the duke of Ossuna, and that, as this duke was to have the principal share in the enterprise, it would be improper to conceal any thing from his confidant. He conjured him, therefore, to condescend to the behaviour of the pirate so far as might be needful to effectuate their design, and to treat him with all the deference that was necessary to conciliate
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the spirit of a man of enterprize, haughty and presumptuous to the last degree.

The marquis, having thus laboured to dispose these men to a friendly understanding, was much amazed, when he first brought them together at his house, to see them embrace with great affection, as soon as they had cast their eyes on each other. There is no man possessed of such strength of mind but he is apt suddenly to form unreasonable judgments of such accidents as greatly surprize him. The first idea of the ambassador was, that he was betrayed. As he was prepossessed with the notion that these two men were strangers to each other, he could not comprehend why they had concealed from him that they were acquainted. The mystery, however, was soon cleared up. He was given to understand that they had met together at a famous Greek courtezan's, a woman of extraordinary merit for one of that profession. There required no other proof of that merit than this adventure, she having most religiously kept the secret they had severally enjoined her of their names. This discretion appeared to

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them so much the more to be admired, as she was not ignorant that they had conceived a high esteem for each other. The ambassador, now fully recovered from his surprize, was overjoyed to find the union he had so much desired already formed to his hand. They confessed, in the course of conversation, that each had conceived the design of engaging the other in the enterprize. As they were constantly revolving the conspiracy in their minds, they had in their discourses at the courtezan's house fallen sometimes on matters of this nature, in talking of the affairs of the times, of the state, and of the war. This was done without discovering themselves, and without any intention of doing it: yet they frankly acknowledged before the ambassador, that the heat of argument had sometimes carried them somewhat too far, and that they had expressed their sentiments rather too unguardedly. The ambassador exhorted them to improve by this reflection, in order to be more circumspect for the future, and to learn from experience, that, to preserve inviolable a secret of importance, it is not enough that a man says or does nothing

nothing that has the most distant relation to it; but that he ought not even to remember that he knows it.

Renault then acquainted them, that, since the rumours of a peace, which had been revived about the end of June, the Venetian officers had treated the foreign troops very ill; and that these troops, being no longer restrained by the authority of Count Nassau, then lately dead, had acquitted themselves but indifferently before Gradisca: that the Venetian general, fearing they might be guilty of something still worse, had separated them, and stationed them in different posts, at the greatest distance possible from one another: this precaution having made public a diffidence of their fidelity, they had mutinied; and having insolently refused to execute certain orders of the senate, the general had thought it his duty to put the principal mutineers to death: their chiefs he had confined at Fadua, and distributed the others into different places in Lombardy, there to remain till they could be paid off, and the execution of the treaties permitted the re-

public to dismiss them. Renault added, that Count Nassau's lieutenant, who was one of the principal persons with whom he had negotiated, was banished to Brescia: that he had laid a train there, by means of which he was ready to put that town into the hands of Don Pedro; and that it was necessary, before they proceeded farther to come to a resolution in reference to that particular design, because the lieutenant pressed in his letters to have a decisive answer. The ambassador told them no motion must be made on that side till they were masters of Venice; and even then there would be occasion but for a single place in Lombardy; that they were assured of Crema, and that this new entreprize would serve only to divide their forces: that, however, it was necessary to preserve those they had gained in a proper disposition; but that they should defer the execution from time to time upon different pretences; and, rather than run the hazard of this affair's giving the least alarm, it should be entirely laid aside.

Renault replied, that, besides the lieutenant, he had treated with three French gentlemen,

gentlemen, whose names were Durand (serjeant-major of the regiment of Lievestein) De Brainville, and De Bribe ; as also with a Savoyard, named De Ternon, who had assisted at the Scalado of Geneva ; a Hollander named Theodore ; Robert Revillido, an Italian engineer ; and two other Italians, who had formerly been employed in the arsenal, whose names were Lewis de Villa-Mezzana, a captain of light-horse, and William Retrofi, lieutenant to captain Honorat in Palma : that he had judged it necessary to open himself fully to these nine persons ; but that he had chosen them with so much care, that he would answer for their fidelity with his head : that during his stay in the camp, they had gained above two hundred officers : with regard to those, he had only given them to understand, according to the ambassador's orders, that the busines was to repair to Venice, to deliver his excellency out of the hands of the populace of that city, when occasion should require it : that, since his return, having written, to know the exact number of men on which he might depend,

and desired them to report nothing but what was absolutely certain, they had informed him, that he might reckon at the least upon two thousand men of the troops of Lievestein, and on two thousand three hundred of those of Nassau ; and that all the officers were ready to deliver themselves into his hands, as a security for their engagement : that, from the very first of the negociation, they had flattered their soldiers with the hopes of some expedition they should undertake when discharged by the republic, wherein they might be amply recompensed for the wretchedness they had suffered : that there was no ground to apprehend the singularity of the entreprize would dishearten them when it should be time to declare the nature of it ; being highly exasperated against the senate, on account of the ignominious treatment they had received ; and that, were there even no other reason, he would engage there was nothing they were not capable of performing to be revenged : that, however, for the greater security, the secret should be concealed from them, if thought proper, till matters should be

be so far advanced and disposed in such a manner that there could scarce be any doubt of success: and as they had resolved to give them Venice to plunder, not a man of them would hesitate at so certain and so sudden a way of enriching himself, and passing the remainder of his days in opulence and ease.

From the first projecting this design, the marquis of Bedamar had determined not to engage therein till he was furnished with many more means than were absolutely necessary for the effecting it, nor unless those means were so unconnected with each other, that, though some of them shculd fail, recourse might still be had to the others. For this reason he had planned his measures with the duke of Ossuna for a body of troops, whilst he was himself assured of the assistance promised him by Don Pedro, and on Renault's agreement with the Dutch officers. In regard to these three negociations he had acted with the same precaution as if there had been no dependance on either of the other two, and as though they had been wanted for three different enterprizes.

It was now time to know precisely when the duke of Offuna could send to Venice the men that were required of him. But, as he was not a man so steady in his undertakings, that his word could be implicitly relied on in an affair of this importance and difficulty, it was thought necessary to send thither some person who should be able to judge upon the spot whether he was in a condition to perform what he promised. The captain could not leave Venice without being remarked. Renault was also indispensably necessary in that city. They cast their eyes therefore on De Brie, one of the French gentlemen with whom Renault had negociated in Friuli; but this cavalier having received a commision to raise soldiers while he was preparing to set out, it was thought more adviseable he should make the levies; and one Laurence Nolot, a native of Franche-comté, and a comrade of the captain's, was dispatched in his place the first day of the year sixteen hundred and eighteen.

The marquis thought it was now time likewise to open himself to the council of Spain.

Spain. To obviate every explanation that might be required of him, he sent thither his plan as full and circumstantial as he was able to draw it. And, well knowing the slowness of that court in its deliberations, he insisted, in a private letter to the duke of Lerma, upon a speedy and decisive answer: that the danger he was in gave him a right to express himself in that absolute manner: and that if they detained his express longer than one week, he would look upon that delay as an order to abandon the whole design. He received an answer within the time he had mentioned, but not altogether so decisive as he could have wished. They told him that if the deferring it would be attended with any inconvenience, he should proceed: but, if possible they anxiously desired previously to have an ample and accurate description of the situation of the republic. The ambassador, who was already prepared on the subject, was not long in drawing up a relation so compleat, that the Spaniards have called it the master-piece of their politics. On a cursory view, the intention of it does not appear: yet,

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such is the art, that to those in the secret there is not a word that does not relate to the design. It opens with an elegant complaint of the difficulty of the undertaking, by reason of the impenetrable secrecy of the government he is to describe. He then makes the eulogium of this government: but the commendation respects rather the first ages of the republic than its present state. He passes from this encomium to a common-place, equally melancholy and elegant, of the deplorable condition of humanity; the most excellent things being the most liable to corruption: that the wisest laws therefore of that state, by the abuse that had been made of them, have been the principal cause of its present disorder: that the law which wholly excludes the people from the knowledge of affairs, has been the occasion of the tyranny of the nobles: and that that, which subjects the ecclesiastical power to the censure of the civil magistrate, has served as a foundation for the licentiousness of the common people of Venice against the court of Rome ever since the republic's quarrel with that court. He ex-

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aggerates this licentiousness with an account of the impieties which the Hollanders were said to have committed with impunity in Friuli. He exclaims particularly against the burying of a great nobleman of their country named Renaud de Brederode in the church of the Servites at Venice, notwithstanding he was a Calvinist: and herein he gravely taxes Father Paul, though without naming him, because it was he who had inspired that temerity into the senate. He wonders how the people, being no longer restrained in their civil obedience by religion, which had been violated so many ways before their eyes, can bear the horrible oppressions with which they are loaded. He gives a detail of these oppressions, and exaggerates nothing in representing them as insupportable. He then shews that the honour and the blood of the people are not less at the discretion of those in power than their wealth: and that, the genius of the nation devoting them to avarice, to revenge, and to amours, it is not at all surprizing if those, who obey in a government of this nature, are oppressed by those

those who command. He examines in the last place the state of the senate, of the province, and of the armies : in the senate, he observes its divisions ; and does not scruple to say, that he knows many malcontents among the nobles. He describes the desolation of the provinces, by the degradations of the Uscocks in some of them, by the misery the others have subjected themselves to in giving them assistance. He affirms that there are not three officers paid in each garrison in Lombardy ; and that the republic preserves its authority there only because no other power undertakes to wrest it from them. As to their forces, he gives a just relation of the insurrections that had happened in the armies, and of the dispersion which had been made of the mutineers in such numbers, that those who were left could be looked upon only as a herd of wretched militia, without courage, experience, or discipline : and as to their navy, it was become an asylum for the most infamous pirates of the Mediterranean ; a crew unworthy of the name of soldiers, and upon whose service the republic could no longer

longer depend, than while they were not powerful enough to turn her own arms against her. Having described these things with a wonderful beauty of stile and force of expression, he examines what judgment ought to be made concerning the future state of this republic, her fortune, and duration: and he makes it appear, by the consequences which arise from the facts he has established, that she is in a decrepid state; and that her maladies are of such a nature, that she can neither bring them to a crisis, nor correct her present constitution but by a total change of its form.

Upon this relation the council of Spain left the marquis of Bedamar at full liberty to act, without giving him any orders. But Nolot, who was not yet returned, put a stop to every thing; and the ambassador was enraged at the blunder he had committed in exposing himself in an affair of this nature to the capricious humour of the duke of Ossuna, whom he ought to have known long ago. A delay was mortal in the present conjuncture. After the Spaniards had taken Ver-selli,

elli, Gradisca was hard pressed by the Venetians ; and the council of Spain had no other way to save the place, than by renewing the propositions of peace. A writing was drawn up in concert at Madrid, which contained the principal articles. But the continual irregular proceedings of the duke of Ossuna obliged the Venetians to revoke the powers of their ambassador, in order to transfer the negociation to France, where the death of Mareschal d'Ancre gave them greater hopes of favour. The peace was concluded at Paris on the sixth of September ; and the governor of Milan had a conference, some time after, with the count De Bethune, to regulate the execution of it in reference to the duke of Savoy : whilst at the same time this governor continued to disturb the Venetians, and even took some small places from them in Lombardy. They made their complaints of it in every court, and were preparing for war more than ever, when the marquis of Bedamar made his compliments on the peace in a full senate, and promised the execution of the articles agreed

on. He did this not so much in consequence of any orders from Spain, as because he was willing to wipe out the ill impressions the senate had entertained of him from past transactions. With this view he acquitted himself herein with all imaginable demonstrations of joy and friendship: and the Venetians, who ardently desired what he promised, suffered themselves to be dazzled by his speeches so far as to agree with him on a suspension of arms.

This suspension was an important stroke for the Spaniards, and the master piece of their ambassador. Gradisca was at that time pressed to such a degree, that it was impossible to hold out a fortnight longer: hostilities however were not to cease till the expiration of two months; that time being judged necessary for the exchange of the ratifications, and the disposing things for the execution of the treaties. It was necessary therefore to prevent the surrender of this place before that time was elapsed. The suspension put it out of danger; and the Spaniards, having no longer that motive to hasten

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the execution of the treaties, remained at full liberty to spin it out as long as might be necessary for their designs.

The duke of Ossuna, it is true, compelled by orders from Madrid and the representations of the pope, offered, soon after, to restore the ships he had taken : but, with regard to the goods, declared he knew not what was become of them ; though they were then selling in Naples, even before the eyes of the resident of Venice ; he duke at the same time sending out another powerful fleet to cruise in the Adriatic. The senate complained to the marquis of Bedamar ; the marquis in consequence made much stronger complaints of it himself, declaring that he did not take upon him to account for the actions of the duke of Ossuna, which even the king their master would not answer for : that among the many favours and the good offices he had received during his embassy at Venice, the only chagrin he had experienced was, to find the conduct of that viceroy imputed to his counsels : that he had never been concerned therein : that it required but little know-

ledge of the duke of Ossuna to convince any one he had no other guide than his own caprice : and, as to himself, they might judge of his disposition by the peaceable procedure of the governor of Milan, of which he gloried to be the cause. That governor, it is true, punctually observed the suspension ; but he still continued armed ; and, that his doing so might not appear strange, he thought proper to embroil himself afresh with the duke of Savoy. Upon pretence that the troops of that prince had halted in the Valteline, waiting for the entire execution of the treaties, Don Pedro refused to the count de Bethune to disarm, as he had promised to do at Pavia ; and prevailed with the duke of Ossuna to refuse likewise what depended on him. The count de Bethune protested against them by a public writing, and withdrew upon their refusal, upon which an answer was made to the protest, in the most plausible form that the marquis of Bedamar could contrive.

It will be easily concluded from this situation of affairs, that it was necessary to hasten

the execution, it being so difficult to keep matters in a proper posture to make them succeed.

All this while the duke of Ossuna did not dispatch Nolot : and the ambassador, who was in the utmost perplexity, having insisted upon Nolot's discovering the reason of it at any rate, he was at length informed what it was. Some time after the captain's being received into the service of the republic, the duke, who was desirous of learning by different ways the then state of Venice, sent after him an Italian, named Alexander Spinosa, to make what discoveries he could. This man, not being known there, soon got employment, as did all the soldiers of fortune that offered to serve. He did indeed conjecture that the duke was forming some enterprise of importance ; but he did not suspect the pirate to be the manager of it : although he doubted whether this pirate was on so bad a footing with the duke as was commonly imagined. Spinosa, upon his arrival at Venice, had made the viceroy an offer to poison the captain : the viceroy had refused his

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proposal, upon pretence of the danger there would be in executing it. Spinosa, who was a man of sense and knew the duke, concluded that, if there was no stronger reason for the refusal, he would not hesitate at being revenged from the fear of one man's losing his life. The duke gave it him in charge, however, to observe the actions of the pirate : whether it were to prevent Spinosa's suspecting any thing of the truth, or that this vice-roy was one of those who do not entirely confide in any person, and was desirous to see whether what Spinosa should write concerning the captain would agree with what the captain should write himself. The better to acquit himself of his commission, he got into the company of some Frenchmen, whom he had known at Naples, and who frequented the captain very much at Venice. These persons, who were of the number of the conspirators, gave the captain an exact account of the inquiry Spinosa made into his conduct : they discovered also that this spy was forming some plot himself, and was endeavouring to procure men of courage and action

for the service of the duke of Ossuna. The captain was full of resentment at the duke's not placing an entire confidence in him: but he was not surprized at it. He only considered that if Spinosa continued to cabal without acting in concert with them, he would weaken their party by dividing it, and that it was impossible for him to open himself to a man, who was planted as a spy upon him. The marquis of Bedamar and Renault were also of opinion that no time ought to be lost to remedy this inconvenience: and, after having maturely consulted together in what manner to affect it, they concluded there was no safety for them but by the destruction of Spinosa. He was a man that would sell his life dearly, if an attempt was made to assasinate him. His employment obliged him to be constantly upon his guard. And the captain was at length obliged to accuse him before the council of ten, as a spy from the duke of Ossuna, after having in vain tried every other method to take him off. Those Frenchmen, with whom he had conversed, deposed so judiciously, and connected their

their evidence so circumstantially, that he was seized and strangled privately the same day. Whatever he could alledge against the pirate had no impression on the minds of the judges, it being against the accuser, and he could prove nothing that he asserted. This affair very much increased the confidence the Venetians had reposed in the captain; yet it rendered the marquis of Bedamar extremely uneasy, as it was an important lesson to the republic to keep a watchful eye upon the conduct of the foreigners in their service. The duke of Ossuna had just been informed of the death of Spinoza, when Nolot arrived at Naples; and he easily conceived who must be the author. The concern it gave him made him take it ill that the marquis of Bedamar had sent him no advice of it; and the different suspicions that this accident raised in his mind, left him at a loss what to resolve upon.

In the mean time the troops of Lievestein, having mutinied afresh, were, at the beginning of February, ordered by the senate to the Lazaretto, within two miles of Venice.

The marquis of Bedamar, who feared they would come to an agreement with the republic for their pay, and thereupon be discharged, contrived, by means of their chief officers, to make them dissatisfied with the sum that was first offered them. In order to take advantage of the neighbourhood of those troops, so favourable to the design of the conspirators, Nolot had orders, by a courier sent on purpose, to represent to the viceroy that during that whole month they should have near five thousand men ready at their command. Nolot omitted nothing of his duty; but the viceroy, who had not yet overcome his resentment, amused him so long that, after waiting six weeks, the officers, fearing that the soldiers, who endured great hardships, would treat without them, entered into a negotiation themselves, with the consent of the conspirators, who saw no way to prevent it.

Ten days after this, Nolot arrived from Naples with the resolution of the duke, such as they could have wished it; but directed to Robert Brulard, one of the captain's comrades.

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The ambassador and the captain, who were seriously endeavouring to make an end of the affair, did not vouchsafe to take the least notice of the affront the viceroy had offered them by this direction. He signified that he was ready to send, whenever they should be wanted, the barks, brigantines, and other small vessels proper for the ports and canals of Venice, in number sufficient to carry six thousand men, should there be occasion. Nolot had seen the troops and the barks ready to set out : and the captain caused those ports and canals to be sounded, through which it would be necessary for them to pass, in order to land at the place of St. Mark. As he had a great number of seamen at command, on account of his office, who, not being suspected, could go and come into those ports and through those canals at pleasure, it was easy for him to have all the dimensions thereof taken with exactness.

Nothing was now remaining, but to hinder the departure of the Lievestein troops : no money was spared for that purpose ; and the rigour of the season served as a pretence

for their detention. The greater part of them continued still at the Lazaretto ; and those who were embarked when Nolot arrived, halted in places not much more remote.

In order to relieve Renault and the captain of part of the cares that lay upon them, and which were too burdensome, it was thought necessary to have at least eighteen men of sense and courage, in whom they could fully confide. They had made up this number of the nine, with whom Renault had negociated in Friuli, and of the chief of those, whom the pirate had caused to follow him from Naples. There were five captains of ships, like himself; Vincent Robert of Marsailles ; Laurence Nolot and Robert Brulard, of whom mention has been already made ; these two last, and likewise another Brulard, named Laurence, were natives of Franche-comte with another native of Provence, named Anthony Jaffier : there were, besides, two brothers, Lorrainers, Charles and John Eoleau, and an Italian, John Rizzardo, all three excellent petardeers

petardeers ; also a Frenchman named l'Anglade, who was looked upon as the most skilful maker of fireworks that had ever appeared : the capacity of this last was so well known, that he had been immediately accepted of to work at his business in the arsenal. By this means the petardeers, his comrades, had free admittance there, as had likewise Villa-Mezzana and Retrosi, who were of those whom Renault had engaged, and who had formerly been employed there. These six persons drew so exact a plan of the arsenal, that even such as had never been upon the spot might have deliberated upon it with as much certainty as those who had made it. Herein they were greatly assisted by two officers of the arsenal itself, whom the captain had gained. They appeared to him to be dissatisfied with their employment, endowed with the qualities proper for his design, capable of entering into it if they found it for their interest, and also of keeping faithfully to what they should promise. The event was answerable to the judgment he had formed. He seasoned the praises he

gave them upon all occasions with so considerable a number of Spanish pistoles, which he had to distribute, that they engaged to execute without any hesitation whatever he should command them. L'Anglade and they lodged in the arsenal : Renault had taken with him to the French ambassador's three of his friends, Bribe, Brainville, and Laurence Brutard. The three petardeers were at the marquis of Bedamar's, who furnished them with the powder and with the other materials, and the instruments necessary to work at their business ; but without having any intercourse with them. They had already made more petards and other fireworks than were necessary : and the ambassador's palace was so full of them, that it was not possible to lodge there any others besides themselves. The captain continued at his usual place of abode, and alone, in order to avoid suspicion, in case he should be observed. As for the others he had lodged them at the courtesan's where Renault and he first met. The esteem and the friendship, which had succeeded to the love they had had

had for this woman, but much more the knowledge they had of her history, convinced them they could not make a better choice. She was the native of a Greek island in the Archipelago, and of as great quality as it is possible to be in a country under the dominion of the Venetians, without being a Venetian. He who commanded there for the republic, having debauched her with mighty promises, had afterwards caused her father to be assassinated, because he would have obliged him to perform what he had promised. The daughter came to Venice to demand justice for the murder; but in vain: and, this prosecution having consumed the small fortune she had, her beauty was now a cure for the poverty it had occasioned. There is no resentment so violent as that of a woman of education virtuously inclined, who has been compelled to take up with a profession unworthy of her. She heard with rapture of the plot of her two friends, and made no difficulty to risk every thing, in order to favour it. She hired one of the largest houses in Venice; and, under colour
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of some conveniences she was causing to be made in it, she brought thither only a part of her goods, that she might have a pretence for still keeping the house she had before ; which was not far off. In these two houses eleven of the principal conspirators were concealed for near six months. As this woman was visited by all men of fashion, strangers as well as Venetians, and as this great resort of people might possibly discover those that lodged there, she feigned herself indisposed, in order to get rid of them. Those, who know with what civility women of this profession are treated in Italy, will have no difficulty in conceiving that her house became hereby inaccessible to all who had no business there. The conspirators went out only by night ; and, that she might be at full liberty to act, their meetings were held in the day-time. In these meetings Renault and the captain proposed such things as they had agreed upon with the marquis of Bedamar ; that they might have the opinion of the company thereupon, and come to a resolution on the means to execute them.

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Whenever there was occasion for them to repair to the marquis's, they acted with all the caution that was necessary in that country ; and at a time when the houses of ambassadors were as narrowly watched as if those ambassadors had been so many enemies ; and the marquis's particularly. They had long ago determined that it would be necessary to have a thousand soldiers in Venice before they came to execution. But, as it would be dangerous to introduce them all armed, the marquis of Bedamar had provided arms for above five hundred. This was easily done with secrecy ; for the gondolas of ambassadors are never searched, from whatever place they come : and there wanted now only an opportunity to bring in those thousand men without their being observed.

The Doge Donato died ; and Anthony Priuli was chosen in his stead. He was at that time in Friuli, to see to the execution of the treaties. Their commander at sea had orders to go for him with a naval army ; and the chancellor and the secretaries of state were to meet him far off at sea, and to carry him

him the ducal bonnet. Twelve of the principal senators were to follow at a little distance, as the republic's ambassadors ; each of them singly, in an armed brigantine magnificently adorned, and with a splendid retinue. The senate itself, in a body, was to receive him at a considerable distance at sea on board the Bucentaur, and to conduct him into the city with all his train.

As it seldom happens that those who are elected doges are at the same time absent from Venice, this pompous ceremony drew thither an infinite number of curious people. The marquis of Bedamar, who foresaw it as soon as he was assured of the election of Priuli, dispatched Nolot a second time to Naples, with orders to see with his own eyes the duke of Ossuna's brigantines set sail with utmost expedition. To remove all grounds of delay, the captain was ordered to send to the duke as exact a plan as possible of the execution, and especially to give him an account of what had passed at Venice during Nolot's first journey. The pirate refined upon this precaution. He was for securing
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the mind of the viceroy every way : and, to convince him that it was not suspected there was any reason to complain of him, he concluded his letter with these words :—“ I accuse the negligence of Nolot for the long stay he made at Naples ; for I question not but, had he represented things as they were, your excellency would soon have dispatched him. He must have asked for money, or something of that sort ; but he had express orders to the contrary. And I undertake even now to keep Venice for six months in my power, should it be necessary, in expectation of your excellency’s great fleet, provided your excellency sends the brigantines as soon as Nolot arrives, and the six thousand men you are pleased to offer.” This letter is of the seventh of April, the day on which Nolot set out.

In the mean time Renault brought to Venice all the officers of the troops that were gained, that they might acquaint themselves with the town, and observe the several posts, in order they might not wander out of the way the night of the execution. Before they

they came they chose a thousand of the Dutch troops, who were to hold themselves in readiness to march at the first order: and, that the absence of those thousand men might be the less liable to observation, they draughted them in equal numbers from those places belonging to the state on the Terra-firma, where they were dispersed. To receive all these men, each of the officers hired separately as many lodgings as they could without giving a suspicion. They told the landlords they were for strangers that came to see the festival. And, as to the officers themselves, they all lodged at the houses of courtesans, where, paying well, they were more secure than any where else.

Nothing was now remaining but to regulate the order of the execution; and the marquis of Bedamar, Renault, and the captain settled it in concert as follows.—

Upon the close of the evening those of the thousand soldiers that are come without arms shall furnish themselves at the ambassador's house: five hundred shall repair to the place of St. Mark, to the captain: the best

best part of the other five hundred shall join Renault in the neighbourhood of the arsenal ; and the rest shall seize all the barks, gondolas, and such other carriages, as shall be found at the Rialto bridge ; by means of which they shall bring up with all expedition about a thousand more of the Lievestein troops, that are still at the Lazaretto. During these operations all that are concerned shall deport themselves as peaceably as possible, that there may be no occasion to declare before the arrival of those troops : yet, should there be a necessity for doing it, on account of any discovery that may be made, the captain shall intrench himself in the square of St. Mark ; Renault shall seize the arsenal in the manner that shall be mentioned ; then two cannons shall be fired as a signal to the brigantines of the duke of Ossuna, which shall be in readiness to enter Venice ; and the Spaniards, whom they bring, shall supply the place of the Walloons that are sent for. But if during this manœuvre there should be no occasion to declare, the captain, so soon as the Walloons are landed at St.

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Mark's square, shall take five hundred of them, to join the five hundred he shall already have, the command of which body to be given to Durand the serjeant-major. The first thing to be done shall be to draw up these thousand men in order of battle in the square ; then the captain with two hundred of them shall make himself master of the ducal palace, especially of the great room full of arms, as well to supply those of his own men who shall be deficient, as to hinder the enemy from making use of them ; a hundred more, under Bribe, shall possess themselves of the square ; and another hundred, under Brainville, of the Procuracy, by the assistance of some men who shall be secretly introduced into the tower in the day-time ; this last hundred shall remain as a corps-de-garde in the tower during the time of the enterprize, to prevent the ringing of the alarm-bell ; possession shall be taken of the entrances of all those streets that lead from the square ; here artillery shall be placed facing the streets, and till a supply can be had from the arsenal, there shall be some taken

taken from the gallery of the council of ten, which lies hard by, and which it will be no difficult matter to seize. In all the places thus secured, and in which corps-de-gardes shall be stationed, every man that is found shall be poniarded. During these several executions round the square, the serjeant-major shall still remain there in order of battle with the rest of the troops. All this shall be done with the least possible noise. The conspirators shall then begin to declare, by petarding the gate of the arsenal ; at the report whereof, those eight of them who have drawn the plan of it, and who will be within, shall set fire to the four corners of it with fireworks, which, together with the petards, are prepared for this purpose at the ambassador's. They shall likewise poniard the chief commanders. It will be easy for them to do this in the confusion, which the fire and the noise of the petards will occasion ; especially as those commanders can have no suspicion of them. They shall afterwards join Renault as soon as he is entered. Then, all together they shall kill as many as they find,

and the soldiers shall bring the artillery to every place where it is proper to plant it : as at the Arena de Mari, at the Fontego dei Tedeschi, at the salt-magazines, on the tower of the Procuracy, on the bridge of the Rialto, and other eminencies, from whence the town may be battered into ruins in case of resistance. At the same time that Renault shall petard the arsenal, the captain shall force the prison of St. Mark, and shall arm the prisoners. The principal senators shall be killed ; and persons suborned for the purpose shall set fire to above forty different parts of the town the farthest distant one from another that is possible that the confusion may be so much the greater. Mean while, the Spaniards from the duke of Ossuna, having heard the signal which will be given them upon the seizing the arsenal, shall land also at the place of St. Mark, and immediately disperse themselves into the principal quarters of the town, as that of St. George, that of the Jews, and others ; this under the conduct of the other nine conspirators. Liberty shall be the only cry ; and, when all these things

things are executed, leave shall be given to plunder; but with an exemption for strangers. As for them it shall be forbidden to take any thing from them, under pain of death; and no slaughter shall be made but of those who resist.

Nolot found things in so good a posture at his arrival at Naples, that the six thousand men were sent off the next day, under the care of an Englishman named Elliot. In order to give the less suspicion, the duke of Ossuna caused his large ships to take a great compass to repair to their posts; but he sent Elliot and the brigantines the shortest way. The second day of their steering, this little fleet met some pirates of Barbary, who attacked it. As it was equipt merely to transport the men it had on board, and not to sustain a warm engagement, it was very much annoyed by the artillery of the Barbarians, whose brigantines were more manageable and better armed. But, notwithstanding the great crowd of men, which were on board those of Naples did not allow them sufficient room to defend themselves in a

regular manner, yet, being all chosen Spaniards, they handled the enemy so roughly with their swords on board such vessels as they could come at, that the pirates would probably have repented their stopping them, had not both sides been dispersed by a violent storm, which separated them in the very height of the action. The little fleet was so much damaged that it could not put to sea again for some time, and the marquis of Bedamar, upon advice hereof, perceiving that he could not disturb the solemnity which was preparing at Venice, assisted at it with more splendor than any one. He protested in full senate, in making his compliment to the new doge, that the particular joy he expressed at his promotion arose from the hopes he had that his serenity would preserve on the throne the favourable disposition for the accomplishment of the peace, which he had lately shewn in Friuli.

At his return from this audience, he sent for Renault and the captain. They were no sooner come than he asked them if they judged it proper to abandon the whole design.

sign. They replied, that not only they were of a contrary opinion, but likewise their associates had appeared no more alarmed at this misfortune of the fleet than if it had arrived safe; and they were all disposed to pursue the necessary measures to maintain things in their present situation, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. The ambassador who had put this question to them, trembling, embraced them with tears of joy upon this answer. He told them with a cheerfulness and ardour that would have reassured the faintest hearts, and inspired intrepidity and daringness into the most dismayed, that great disappointments, which in common affairs might reasonably surprize the mind, are accidents natural to extraordinary enterprizes; that they are the only test of the strength of the soul; that then only a man ought to esteem himself capable of atchieving a great design, when he had once seen it defeated with constancy and, tranquillity. It was now determined in concert between the marquis and his two confidents, that the execution should be deferred till the feast of

the Ascension, which was not far off, and which at Venice is the greatest of all the annual solemnities : that in the mean while the troops should be kept where they then were, and supplied with all the conveniences they could wish ; that for this purpose no money should be wanting to the principal officers ; that of the three hundred, who were already come to Venice, the most considerable should be detained as pledges for the fidelity of the rest ; and that the sub-alterns should be sent back to their troops, as well to keep the soldiers in their duty as to discharge the town of such a number of officers as might create suspicion ; that they who were kept should be entertained in the most agreeable manner, that they might not have leisure for reflecting on the present state of things ; that the twenty principal conspirators should have a watchful eye upon their conduct ; and that, to oblige the republic to suffer the Lievestein troops to continue, and not to dismiss those of Nassau, the governor of Milan and the viceroy

viceroy of Naples should not fulfil the treaties.

All the pretences that human wit can invent in opposition to reason, were suggested by the marquis of Bedamar, and put in practice by Don Pedro and the duke of Osluna. Nevertheless, however averse to it they might be, they were obliged every day to make some advance towards the peace. The council of Spain did not dare to hazard any thing in hopes of an event so doubtful as the success of the conspiracy: and France, which was for maintaining the treaty of Paris, obliged the Venetians to consent to the duke of Savoy's disbanding the troops that halted in the Valteline, and served as an excuse for Don Pedro's delays. This difficulty being removed, the marquis of Bedamar, in order to prevent that prince's surrendering the places he had taken in the Montferrat, caused a rumour to be spread, that as soon as the duke of Mantua should be re-established there, he would come to an agreement with the Spaniards for that state.

ffate. At the same time Don Pedro contrived a groundless quarrel with a minister of Savoy, who had attended the French ambassadors to Milan, and sent him an order to depart. The duke, incensed at this affront, brought the troops still nearer to him, and put a stop to the evacuating the places he was in possession of. But the ambassador's having convinced him that he was falling into the snare Don Pedro had laid for him, he restored at once all that he had taken. Don Pedro was so struck upon receiving advice of this, that he could not forbear to shew his concern even in his public discourses. He was now obliged to restore the prisoners and the smaller places: but as for Vercelli, which was the important object, he made such strange difficulties, that the court of Spain threatened to recall him before the usual time. At first he pleaded that it would be dishonourable for him to surrender that place while the ambassadors of France were at Milan, as it were to compel him by their presence. They withdrew. Then he declared that

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he expected the duke of Savoy should first restore certain lands, which belonged to some ministers of Mantua. These lands were accordingly restored; and yet Vercelli was not surrendered. At length, France being desirous to conclude the marriage of Madame Christiana, the king's sister, with the prince of Piedmont, and having explained itself in a decisive manner in reference to that place, Don Pedro began to send away the stores and artillery which were there; but with incredible slowness. The Marquis of Bedamar having sent him word to be still more dilatory, he bethought himself of requiring new assurances from the duke of Savoy in favour of the duke of Mantua; but the ministers of Mantua themselves, tired with these delays, declared, by a public writing, that they wanted no such assurances.

How uneasy soever the marquis of Bedamar was at this declaration, he was much more so at the duke of Ossuna's conduct. This duke, weary of the complaints which the Venetians caused to be made to him

from every quarter, of his interrupting the navigation of the gulph, and not knowing what further to alledge in his defence, thought fit at last to make answer, that he should not desist so long as the Venetians entertained in their service the most irreconcileable enemies of the king his master. It will be easily apprehended, from the care and pains the ambassador had taken to detain the Dutch troops, of whom the duke of Oſtuna complained, how enraged he was when he was informed of the duke's answer. He did not doubt but the senate, who were desirous of a peace at any rate, would dismiss them, to leave the viceroy without farther excuse. But the event once more deceived the prudence of the marquis of Bedamar. Some demon, favourable to the extravagancies of the duke of Oſtuna, inspired the Venetians with a resolution directly contrary both to their inclination and their interest. It was remonstrated to the senate, that the republic had already more than sufficiently testified by her proceedings how desirous she was of peace, and that this was the very thing

thing that made the Spanish ministers so backward to fulfil the treaties: that, if they gave the viceroy satisfaction in regard to his complaint, he would imagine he gave the law to Venice; and that, instead of dismissing the Dutch troops, they ought even to retain those of Lievstein (which were to depart the first opportunity) till the treaties were fully executed.

The joy, which this resolution gave the marquis of Bedamar, was allayed by the discovery of the plot at Crema. The Provensal ensign and the Italian captain, who had been gained over, quarrelled at play, and fought. The captain was mortally wounded, and, to discharge his conscience, confessed every thing to the Venetian commander before he expired. The ensign, who suspected what would happen, as soon as he had wounded his man, made his escape with as many of his accomplices as he could give notice to. The others were taken; and, among them, the French lieutenant,

tenant, who was the chief manager of the affair. But, as Renault had appeared to them no otherwise than under the character of an agent from Milan, and as they knew not what was become of him since, the whole of this design was imputed to Don Pedro. About a week after the serjeant-major, who had agreed to deliver up Moran, having with-held and taken for his own use certain profits belonging to a valet de chambre of the proveditor and to a pensioner of the republic, these men, exasperated at the loss, took the opportunity of his absence to go into his house, where they broke open his coffers, and took away his money and his papers. Among these papers there were letters which made mention of the design. As he knew only that emissary from the duke of Ossuna who had negociated with him, he could accuse nobody but the duke. But he took a nobler resolution. He still declared in the midst of his tortures, that he well knew they would not save him,

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let him discover what he would ; and that he would rather leave his accomplices, if he had any, in a condition to revenge his death, than destroy them likewise without any advantage.

A public thanksgiving was made in Venice for these two discoveries : and yet the main enterprize became hereby the more infallible. The senate concluded they had at length discovered the hidden cause of the irregular proceedings of the Spaniards ; and, these two plots having miscarried, they imagined a profound tranquillity would now take place, and no longer doubted of the fulfilling of the treaties.

Mean while, the time of the execution was at hand. From the Sunday preceding the Ascension to Whitsunday, there is a fair at Venice, one of the greatest in all the world. The great concourse of traders there would be no impediment to the surprising the town. At the same time it gave the thousand soldiers, who came thither among the

the merchants, an opportunity to enter it and provide themselves lodgings, without being remarked. It was easy for them to leave the Venetian towns where they were dispersed, because for some time past there had been a desertion of those who were most eager to return home: and the podestats took no care to prevent it, as the republic would have so many men the fewer to pay. But, lest it should be wondered at that so many should disband in so short a time, the greater part of them gave out at their departure that they were going to the fair at Venice. They disguised themselves like men of all professions. Care was taken to lodge together such as spoke different languages, that they might be the less suspected of holding intelligence: nor did they appear even to have any acquaintance with each other. At the same time the five hundred Spaniards designed for the execution of the plot at Crema, which was discovered, were sent by Don Pedro into the environs of Brescia, in order,

order, upon the first advice of the success of the conspiracy, to seize upon that town by means of the faction that the lieutenant of count Nassau had formed there, and which still subsisted. He, who commanded these Spaniards, was instructed to bring them directly to Venice upon the first notice he should receive from Renault.

As for the Venetian fleet, it was retired into Dalmatia; but was prepared to put to sea again upon the first orders, on account of the continual motions of the duke of Ossuna. The captain sent to the officers, who commanded his twelve ships in his absence, fireworks of the fiercest composition, to distribute privately into all the other ships of the fleet the day before the execution. As nobody mistrusted these officers, it was easy for them to do this without being suspected, or even perceived. He charged them to measure their matches with such exactness, that they might all take fire at once; that, if any ship was getting away, they should at-

tack it, and either make themselves master of it, or sink it with their cannon : that they should then repair to Venice without losing a moment, and put themselves in a posture for the immediate execution of every thing ; but should wait, however, for a fresh order before they began.

The day fixed upon was the Sunday before the Ascension, which was the first day of the fair.

The duke of Ossuna caused his little fleet to be so well convoyed this time, that it arrived without any accident within six miles of Venice. It was divided into two parts, which sailed at some distance from each other the better to prevent observation : the greatest was composed of barks built like fisher-boats, that they might be the less suspicious ; the other consisted of brigantines in the form of privateers.

On the Saturday morning word was brought to Elliot to set out the next day from the place where he then was at an hour

proper to arrive within sight of Venice in the dusk of the evening ; to set up the standard of St. Mark ; to possess himself of some small islands, by which he was to pass, which were of no defence, and from whence there was otherwise a possibility that advice might be sent to Venice of his fleet's being in the neighbourhood ; then to present himself boldly before the two castles of Lido and Malamoco, it being known there was no garrison in them, and that he might pass between them without any impediment ; to advance within cannon shot of Venice ; to give notice as soon as he arrived there ; and, by the return of the boat which brought that advice, the captain would send him seamen to pilot him, lest he should be stranded on the shoals with which the waters that encompass Venice abound, or split upon the rocks which render the entrance of the ports impracticable to those who are not used to them.

As the following day was to be employed in disposing things for the execution of the

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night, Renault and the captain thought it proper to hold a consultation with their companions on the eve for the last time : and the captain left it to Renault to represent to them the state of things, and to give them the necessary informations. Whatever they could do, they could not all meet till it was near night. There were present the three Frenchmen who lodged with Renault, the lieutenant of count Nassau, the three petardeers, l'Anglade, the two officers of the arsenal, the captain, and the lieutenant who had been formerly employed there, Nolot, the two Brullards, Jaffier, Robert the Hollander, Theodore the Savoyard who had been at the scalado of Geneva, and Revillido the engineer.

These twenty men having shut themselves up at the Grecian woman's with Renault and the captain, in the most private part of the house, after the usual precautions on such occasions Renault addressed them. He began with a plain and full representation of the present

present posture of things, of the forces of the republic and their own, of the disposition of the town and that of the fleet, of the preparations of Don Pedro and the duke of Osuna, of the arms and other warlike provisions lodged at the house of the Spanish ambassador, of the intelligence he had in the senate and among the nobles; in a word, of the perfect knowledge that had been gained of whatever was necessary to know: having received the approbation of his auditors on the recital of these things, the truth of which they knew as well as himself, and which were almost all of them the effects of their care jointly with his; "These, my com-
"panions," continued he, "are the means
"appointed to conduct you to the glory you
"are seeking. Each of you can judge whether
"they are sufficient and sure. We have
"ways, that are infallible, to introduce ten
"thousand armed men into a town, which
"has not two hundred to oppose us; the
"plunder of which will unite to us all the

H 3 "strangers,

“ strangers, whom curiosity or the views of
“ trade have drawn thither ; and where even
“ the common people themselves will help us
“ to strip the great ones, by whom they have
“ been so often stripped, as soon as they shall
“ perceive there is no danger in doing it.
“ The best ships of the fleet are in our inte-
“ rest; and the others already carry within
“ them what will soon reduce them to ashes.
“ The arsenal, that famous arsenal, the
“ wonder of Europe and the terror of Asia,
“ is, as it were, already in our power. The
“ nine gallant men who are here present,
“ and who for these six months past have been
“ prepared to possess themselves of it, have
“ so well taken their measures during this
“ delay that they dare engage, on the peril
“ of their heads, to make themselves masters
“ of it. Had we neither the troops of the
“ Lazaretto nor those of the Terra-firma,
“ nor Elliot’s little fleet to support us, nor
“ the five hundred men from Don Pedro, nor
“ the twenty Venetian ships of our comrade,

“ nor

" nor the large ships of the duke of Ossuna,
 " nor the Spanish army in Lombardy, we
 " should still be powerful enough, with the
 " intelligence we have and the thousand men
 " we have introduced. At the same time,
 " all these different succours that I have
 " enumerated are so disposed, that the fail-
 " ing of any one of them would bring no
 " prejudice to the rest: they may assist,
 " but cannot hurt each other. It is next to
 " impossible they should not all succeed: and
 " yet any one of them alone is sufficient. If,
 " after having taken all the precautions which
 " human prudence can suggest, one may
 " make a judgment of the success Fortune
 " intends us, what tokens can there be of
 " her favour, which are not inferior to those
 " we have? Certainly, my friends, there is
 " something in them miraculous. It is a
 " thing without precedent in history for
 " an enterprize of this nature to have been
 " discovered in part, without being en-
 " tirely defeated; and yet ours has stood
 " the trial of five accidents, the very least of
 " which, in all human appearance, must
 " have been the utter subversion of it. Who

" would not have thought that the destruction of Spinosa, who was projecting the same thing with ourselves, must have been our destruction likewise? That the division of the Lievestein troops, which were entirely devoted to us, would have disclosed what we took so much pains to conceal; that the dispersion of the little fleet would have broken all our measures, and been a plentiful source of new mischiefs? That the discovery at Crema, and that at Maran, would necessarily be attended with the detection of the whole scheme? And yet all these things have had no consequences. The traces were not followed which would have led up to us. No advantage was made of the light they afforded. Never did so profound a tranquillity usher in so horrible a confusion. The senate (as we are faithfully informed) is in a perfect security. Our good destiny has blinded the most clear-sighted of all men, inspirited the most timorous, lulled asleep the most suspicious, confounded the most subtle and discerning. We still live, my dear friends! we are even more powerful

" than

“ than we were before these disasters : they
“ have only served to prove our constancy.
“ We still live, and our living shall soon be
“ fatal to the tyrants of this city. Is there
“ not something preternatural in such un-
“ common, such persevering good-fortune ?
“ And have we not ground to believe it to
“ be the work of some power more than
“ human ? And, indeed, my companions,
“ what is there in this world worthy the pro-
“ tection of heaven, if what we are engaged
“ in be not worthy of it ? We are destroying
“ the most execrable of all governments ;
“ we are restoring the goods of fortune to
“ all the impoverished subjects of this state,
“ from whom, were it not for our interposi-
“ tion, the avarice of the nobles would wrest
“ it eternally. We shall preserve the honour
“ of all those women, who might one day be
“ born under their domination with beauty
“ sufficient to attract them. We shall pre-
“ vent the destruction of an infinite number
“ of such wretches as for a long time past
“ their cruelty has sacrificed even on the
“ most trifling occasions. In a word, we
“ punish

“ punish the most criminal of men ; men
“ equally polluted with vices that nature ab-
“ hors, and with those she can barely suffer
“ without blushing. Let us not then be
“ afraid to take the sword in one hand and
“ the torch in the other, to exterminate these
“ miscreants ; and, when we behold those
“ palaces, where impiety sits enthroned,
“ burning with fire rather darted from heaven
“ than applied by us ; those tribunals, so often
“ sufficed with the tears and the substance of
“ the innocent, consumed by the devouring
“ flames ; the furious soldier drawing out his
“ reeking hands from the body of the infa-
“ mously wicked ; death ranging through
“ every quarter ; and all the spectacles of
“ horror that night and military licence can
“ produce ; let us then remember, my friends,
“ that there is nothing in this world without
“ allay ; that the most praise-worthy actions
“ are often attended with the most displeasing
“ circumstances ; and, lastly, that, in ex-
“ change for the many enormities which
“ desolated this unhappy country, the dis-
“ orders of to-morrow’s night are the only
“ means

" means to establish peace, justice and liberty
" therein for ever."

This discourse was received by the whole assembly with that complaisance which men usually have for sentiments agreeable to their own. But Renault, who had watched their countenances, took notice that Jaffier, one of the captain's best friends, had fallen all on a sudden from an extreme attention into a perturbation which he strove in vain to conceal ; and that there still remained in his eyes an air of astonishment and sadness, that betrayed a mind seized with horror. Renault spoke of it to the captain, who made a jest of it at first ; but, having observed Jaffier for some time, he was almost of the same opinion. Renault, who well knew the relation and the constant connection there is between the most secret motions of the soul and the slightest exterior appearances when a man is in any agitation of spirit, having maturely considered what he imagined he had seen in Jaffier's countenance, thought himself obliged to declare to the captain that he looked upon him as a man not to be trusted. The captain,
who

who knew Jaffier to be one of the bravest men existing, taxed this opinion with rashness and want of moderation ; but Renault, obstinate in the justification of his suspicion, laid the grounds of it and the consequences so clearly before him, that, if the captain was not as fully convinced of the matter as himself, he judged at least, that Jaffier was a man to be observed. He signified, however, to Renault that, even though Jaffier should be staggered (which he could scarcely believe) he would not have time enough, before the morrow-night, to deliberate upon betraying them, and to come to a resolution to do it ; but that, let it be as it might, in the present posture of affairs there was no time for forming new measures, and it was a risk they must unavoidably run. Renault replied, there was one sure means to avoid it ; and that was to poniard Jaffier themselves that very night. The captain remained silent for some time at this proposal ; but, at length, he made answer, that he could not resolve to poniard the dearest friend he had upon a bare suspicion ; that the action might be attended with

with several ill consequences ; that he feared it would startle their companions, and that Renault and himself would become odious to them, and be looked upon as persons affecting a sort of empire, and a power over them of life and death : that it could not be supposed their companions would apprehend the necessity of killing Jaffier so fully as themselves ; and that, not apprehending it, each conspirator would with great uneasiness consider his life as exposed to the first suspicion they might have of him : that, when men are in vehement emotion, a small matter may give their minds a wrong turn ; and that, when things are so situated, the least alteration is of extreme consequence, as none but violent resolutions can then be taken : that, should they endeavour to conceal the cause of Jaffier's disappearing, it was much to be feared their associates would imagine either that he was discovered and had fled, or that he was a prisoner, or a traitor ; and that, what reasons soever should be given for it, his absence upon the very point of the execution, considering how great a share he was to have therein,

therein, could not but intimidate and fill them with melancholy thoughts.

While Renault was listening attentively to this discourse of the captain, one of their people came into the room with an order from the senate, just then received, for all those who had any post in the fleet to go on board the next morning. At the same time was brought a note from the ambassador, which discovered the reason of that order. The duke of Ossuna could not leave Naples so privately, to repair to his great ships, but the spies of the republic were apprized of it : but as he had left an order that no carriage should be furnished to go to Venice till a certain time, and that all letters directed thither should be stopped, the Venetians could not have advice of his departure before that day.

The arch-duke, then newly elected king of Bohemia, had desired succours from him, to oppose the rebels of that country, who began to be in motion ; and, the viceroy having boasted that he would conduct those succours through the gulph to the very ports of the arch-duke in Istria, the Venetians had caused

him

him to be intreated even by that prince himself to steer another course. But, as he did not govern himself by those reasons which govern other men, when they were assured of his departure, they made no doubt but it was to conduct in person those succours by the way he had intended. They would not dispute the passage with him, as they might have done, because they would avoid a rupture ; but they thought proper to send their fleet to the coasts of Istria, where he was to land his troops, in order to observe him, and to be a check upon the various temptations he might be under at the sight of their maritime places.

The firmest resolutions, of which our nature is capable, proceed, for the most part, from a strong representation to the mind of the danger that is to be incurred : by means of this representation the soul, at length, having often considered the circumstances of that danger, familiarises itself with them, how frightful soever they may be. But then all the firmness of its resolution is so connected with those particular circumstances, that, if

any

any one of them happen to alter upon the point of execution, there is great danger that the resolution will suffer a change likewise. This was what Renault and the captain apprehended would happen with respect to their companions upon this unforeseen embarkation of the Venetian fleet, which they were just informed of. The news therefore gave them much uneasiness: for they instantly judged it would oblige them, how unwilling soever they might be to do it, to make some alteration in the disposition they had agreed on for the execution of their enterprize. This execution could not be immediately performed, for the night was too far advanced. It would be day before notice could be given to the little fleet to approach within cannon-shot of Venice, where it was requisite it should be to begin, and before the troops could be sent from the Lazaretto. As for the next day, the Venetians intending to put to sea, should Elliot be ordered to move forward, he would infallibly meet many of those who would be all that day repairing from Venice on board the fleet. The course which
this

this fleet was to steer, was the most favourable the conspirators could wish. It was going to turn its back to Elliot ; and, all things being well considered, it was judged proper to give it time to get to some distance. The difficulty was to resolve whether the captain, l'Anglade, the three petardeers, and the other conspirators who had posts there, should obey the order of the senate. They seemed indispensably necessary at Venice for the execution ; and the captain especially ; and yet he was the man who could least of all stay behind. The important command he had on board the fleet would make him more remarked than all the others together. As most of them had employment on board his ships, he could almost alone by his authority supply the want of them, if he were present ; and could even hinder their absence from being observed. For these reasons it was determined that he should go with only l'Anglade, whose employment in the fleet depended immediately on the general, as did likewise that of the three petardeers. But, as for the petardeers, they chose to run all hazards ra-

ther than suffer them to depart. The general inquired after them as soon as he saw the captain. The captain answered, that he imagined them to be concealed in Venice in the houses of courtesans, as well as some of his officers, whom he missed; and that the hurry in which he was obliged to come away had not given him time to find them out. The general was so pressed by the senate to be gone, and for the same reason so busy, that he could not send to seek after them, nor upon any account wait till they were found.

The captain, before he went on board, took Jaffier aside, and begged him to supply his place near Renault on the night of execution. He spoke in high terms of the confidence they all had in his conduct and courage; and told him that, without that assurance, he should never have resolved to go; but that he thought he left another self to his companions, while Jaffier remained with them. During this speech the captain observed him with attention: but he, overcome by the testimonies given him of the esteem

esteem in which he was held, answered with such tokens of zeal, fidelity, and acknowledgement as would have confirmed the most suspicious. This was the last effort of his dying resolution. It vanished when the face of his friend was turned. Having now no longer before his eyes the only man who was capable, by the consideration he had for him, to keep him steady, irresolution took entire possession of his soul. The description Renault had made of the night of execution, in the conclusion of his harangue, had struck him to such a degree, that he could not moderate his pity. His imagination added to this description: it represented to him minutely and in the most lively colours all the cruelties and injustices inevitable on such occasions. From that moment he hears nothing on all sides but the cries of infants trampled under foot, the groans of aged men in the agonies of death, and the shrieks of ravished women. He sees nothing but palaces falling to the ground, temples in flames, and holy places covered with blood. Venice, the sad, the deplorable Venice, presents herself every where before

his eyes, not triumphant now, as heretofore, over the wide conquering Ottoman and the haughty Spaniard, but in ashes, or in fetters, and more immersed in the blood of her children than in the waters that surround her. The dismal image pursues him night and day, solicits, urges, staggers him : in vain he endeavours to drive it away. More obstinate than all the fabled furies, it possesses him in the midst of his repasts, disturbs his repose, mingles itself in his dreams. But then to betray his friends ! and such friends ! men intrepid, intelligent, of unrivalled merit in their several ways ! it would be the work of ages to bring together a second time so great a number of extraordinary persons. What ! at the instant they are going to render themselves memorable to latest posterity, must the fruit of the greatest resolution, that ever entered the minds of private men, be ravished from them, upon the very point of being reaped ? in what manner too will they perish ? by tortures more studied and more exquisite than whatever the tyrants of past ages have invented. Who knows not that in Venice
there

there is a prison more capable of shaking the constancy of a man of courage than the most frightful punishments of other countries ?

These last reflexions which attacked Jaffier in his weakest part, confirmed him again in his first sentiments. The pity he felt for his companions balanced in his soul that which the desolation of Venice had excited : and he continued unresolved till the day of the Ascension, to which the execution had been deferred.

In the morning there came advice from the captain. He assured them he would answer for the fleet ; informed them it was sailing to the neighbourhood of Maran ; and required a boat to be dispatched to him, to give him notice when the Lievestein troops were sent for from the Lazaretto ; and he would wait for that advice, to begin to act on his side. The guides that had been promised to Elliot, were sent him. Suborned persons were introduced into the tower of the procuracy of St. Mark, who had some acquaintance with those who kept guard there, and who laid them asleep by the means of drugs and scents

proper for that purpose, mixed with their food and liquor, and by inducing them to eat and drink to excess on account of the public rejoicings. Orders were given to certain chosen officers to secure the houses of those senators who were most to be feared, and to kill them. Each of them was informed of the particular house he was to attack, and each of the principal conspirators, and other officers, the post he was to occupy, the number of men he was to command, the place where he was to take them, the word to know them by, and the way by which he was to lead them. Notice was likewise given to the troops at the Lazaretto, to the Spaniards on board the little fleet, and to the thousand Hollanders who were already in Venice, how they were to divide themselves from St. Mark's square, where they were all first to rendezvous, the places they were to seize, the commanders that were appointed them, and the watch-word to know them by. The galley of the council of ten was visited by persons no way to be suspected; and the artillery was found to be in a condition to serve.

Jaffier

Jaffier had the curiosity to see the ceremony of the doge's espousal of the sea, that being the last time it would be performed. Here his compassion revived in all its force at sight of the public rejoicings. The profound tranquillity of the unhappy Venetians gave him so much the more lively a sense of their approaching desolation; and he became more unresoled than ever.

But, in fine, heaven would not abandon the work of twelve ages, and of so many able minds, to the fury of a courtesan and a band of desperadoes.

The good genius of the republic suggested to Jaffier an expedient, by which he hoped to save Venice and his companions at the same time. He went to Bartholomew Comino, secretary to the council of ten, and told him he had something very urgent to reveal, which concerned the safety of the republic: but that he first required from the doge and the council the promise of one favour, and that they should likewise engage themselves by the most sacred oaths to see that promise ratified by the senate. And this favour was

the granting the lives of two-and-twenty persons that he should name, what crime soever they should have committed: but that they should not think of wresting the secret from him by torments; for there were none so excruciating as to force a single word from his mouth. The ten were instantly assembled; and, without losing any time, they deputed to the doge, to receive from him the promise that Jaffier required. He made no more hesitation to give it than they had done: and Jaffier now, fully satisfied with what he was going to do, laid open to them the whole of the conspiracy. The thing appeared to them horrible, and strange beyond belief: but, it being easy to prove the truth of some of the particulars, Comino was sent to the tower of the procuracy. He informed the council at his return that he had found the whole guard either drunk or asleep. He was then dispatched to the arsenal. Here he was a considerable time before he could find the officers who had been gained: but at length a servant, intimidated by his threats, shewed him a little door, which he caused to be broke

broke open, after he had knocked several times in vain. He found the officers and the three petardeers just finishing the fireworks intended for the execution. He asked them for what reason they worked upon so great a festival, and why they had not opened to him when he knocked: they answered, with much presence of mind, that the petardeers were to set out the next day to repair to the fleet; that the general had ordered them to bring a great number of fireworks ready to play off; that, not having a sufficient quantity ready-made, they had desired the others to assist in the making them: that, as it might be a matter of consequence, they had thought proper to dispense with the observation of the festival; and, in order to do it without scandal, they had shut themselves up as he found them, in the most retired part of the arsenal, which they had chosen on that account.

Though Comino could find nothing to reply to this answer, he made them prisoners. The ten more and more alarmed, sent next to the Grecian woman's house; but nobody was found there. The suborned persons who had

had laid the guard asleep in the tower, had counterfeited themselves asleep likewise, when they saw Comino. But he was no sooner gone than they made all speed to the Greician's, where they gave the alarm so warmly, that, without losing an instant, Nolot, Robert, Revillido, Retrosi, Villa-Mezzana, Durand, Ternon, and Robert Brulard, who chanced to be with her, went and threw themselves all together into one of the barks that had been retained at the Rialto to bring the troops from the Lazaretto, and were so fortunate as to get out of Venice. The concern their escape gave the council made them resolve to search the houses of the ambassadors of France and Spain without farther delay. They asked civilly for admittance about an affair which related to the welfare of the republic. The ambassador of France granted it as civilly; and Renault was taken and brought away, with Laurence, Brulard, and de Brie. But the Spaniard refused with great tartness; and, when he saw them enter by force, alledged the privileges of his function, and protested against the violence that
was

was offered him. There were found in his house arms for above five hundred men, sixty petards, and an incredible quantity of powder, fireworks, and other things of like nature. Of all this an exact inventory was taken ; and he himself was present, affecting to ridicule them.

Just as this inventory was brought to the council of ten, a nobleman of the house of Valeria arrived there with Brainville and Theodore, two of the principal conspirators. They had been informed a little before, that every thing had been discovered ; and, having no hopes of getting from Venice (for they had been told at the same time that the ports had been all shut up upon the Greek woman's escaping) they resolved to make a shew of being willing to reveal the conspiracy. They therefore went to this nobleman, whom they had known in Flanders, that he might bring them before the council of ten ; where they were secured.

In the mean time a general search was made in all taverns, inns, lodging-houses, brothels, and every other place where strangers might be

be supposed to be concealed ; and all Dutch, French, Spanish, Walloon, Neapolitan, and Milaneſe officers were seized, to the number of near four hundred.

While these things were doing, two natives of Dauphiny, who came from Orange, arrived in their boats, as they had flung themselves a quartering their horses, into the bark that brought them. They informed the council, that some Frenchmen of their acquaintance having wrote to them from Venice, that, if they wished to enrich themselves, they need only haſten thither (there being a conspiracy just upon the point of execution to ſeize the place and give it up to plunder) they had poſted with all ſpeed to make a diſcovery of ſo wicked a deſign, instead of taking any ſhare therein. Thanks were given them, and an elegant apartment appointed them, where they were deſired to repoſe till the ſenate ſhould be at leisuſe to think of a proper reward for their ſervice.

By this time it was day ; the ſenate aſſembled, and the marquis of Bedamar demanded audience. It was granted him merely
out

out of curiosity. The noise of the conspiracy was now spread through the whole city, and occasioned a dreadful tumult. The populace, who had a confused knowledge of the Spaniards being the contrivers of it, got together about the ambassador's palace, in order to break into it ; and were going to set it on fire, when the persons arrived who were to conduct him to audience. They made known their commission ; and the mob, now in hopes that the senate would inflict an exemplary punishment on him, suffered him to come out alone, and followed him with all the foul language and imprecations imaginable. The ambassador, as soon as he was before the senate, began with bitter complaints of the violence that had been committed in his house contrary to the law of nations : and he accompanied his complaints with such haughty and furious menaces of revenge, that the greater part of the senators were in consternation, dreading that he had still some unknown means to accomplish his enterprize. The doge returned him for answer that they would excuse that outrage to him, when he had

given

given them a reason for the warlike preparations that were found in his house, who, as being an ambassador, ought to be a minister of peace. He replied, that he was astonished that persons who had a reputation for wisdom, should be so weak as to insult him to his face upon so frivolous a pretence : that they knew as well as he did that all those provisions were but deposited in his house, as others had been before, to be sent to Naples and into Tirol : that, as for the arms, all the world knew there were none so good as those made in the towns belonging to the republic : and that, for the fireworks and other things of that kind, some workmen of extraordinary skill having offered themselves to him, he had been induced to employ them out of curiosity. The doge, interrupting him, told him, those workmen were villains, or rather monsters born for the everlasting shame of human nature ; and, as he spoke these words, he presented to the ambassador a letter of credence of the governor of Milan, which had been found among Renault's papers, with other letters from the duke

duke of Ossuna. The ambassador made answer, that, as for the duke of Ossuna, he had already declared that he no way concerned himself with his conduct; and, as to the letter of credence, it was true the ambassador of France had recommended to him a gentleman some time before, who stood in need of favour at Milan upon some particular account; and he had given that gentleman the letter they shewed him; but that he was wholly ignorant the republic was any way concerned therein.

The doge, seeing by these replies that the ambassador would never want an answer, contented himself with representing to him with much gravity the blackness of his enterprize, and concluded with protesting they were all very far from suspecting the king his master to have had any part therein. The ambassador replied to this remonstrance, with all the passion and indignation of a virtuous man whose honour is unjustly attacked; that he was of a nation to which valour and prudence were so natural, that they had no need

to have recourse to base artifices to ruin their enemies ; and that the king his master was powerful enough to destroy them by open force, without making use of treachery ; as might possibly very shortly appear. He went out abruptly after these words without any ceremony. Those who conducted him, begged him to rest himself for some time in a neighbouring apartment, till the senate had given the necessary orders for his safety : and he suffered himself to be taken whithersoever they pleased, overcome with rage, and without making any reply. While the populace was got together in the square, to tear him in pieces as soon as the senate should deliver him up, it was easy for those who were sent to his house with a strong guard to get his domestics on board, and the most valuable part of his furniture. They then came to fetch him, and conducted him, through private passages of the palace, to a brigantine well armed and attended with a good convoy. The populace, enraged at his escape, made effigies of him and of the duke of Offuna, which they treated in the same manner as

they

they would have treated their persons, had they been in their power.

Orders were sent at the same time to their general at sea immediately to drown l'Anglade, captain James Pierre, and all such officers on board the captain's ships, as he most confided in. As it was imagined they would be upon their guard, a vessel of the most foreign and uncommon construction that could be found at Venice was made choice of to carry the order, and equipt after the manner the most likely to make it supposed she came from another quarter. She likewise took a large compass about that she might arrive on the contrary side to which she ought, had she come from Venice. It was afterwards known that the captain had been all the night in expectation ; and, seeing this vessel arrive, he immediately went on board the largest of his ships, as if he had suspected the truth, and was for putting himself in a state of defence, in case he was betrayed. But it is probable that the fear of ruining all through a terror, which might be merely panic, stopped him some time, to deliberate whether he should

declare or not : for the general, who lost not a moment, having sent to him two chosen men, of whom there could be no ground of suspicion, they entered without arms, as to appearance, the place where he was, and found him alone ; when, accosting him with an air as free as usual, they poniarded him suddenly, and threw him into the sea, without any one's perceiving it. L'Anglade and forty of his officers were presently after treated in the same manner, and with the same secrecy.

Mean while Renault, being interrogated at Venice, makes answer that he knows not the purport of any of their questions. They mention to him the letter of credence to Don Pedro, a pass-port in Spanish for all the countries subject to Spain, bills of exchange for large sums, and the thousand pistoles in gold. He replies that he knows neither the ambassador of Spain, nor the governor of Milan : and therefore, if there be any thing among his papers relating to them, it must have been put there by somebody else : and, as for the bills of exchange and the pistoles, it was all he was possessed of in the world.

He

He was put to the rack ordinary and extraordinary ; but he said nothing farther, excepting that he was a poor old man, but a man of quality, probity, and honour, and that God would revenge him. He was brought to the rack for several days together ; and even a pardon was promised him if he would confess all he knew ; but to no purpose ; and, after having been tortured in every form at different times, he was at last strangled in prison, and hung up publicly by one foot, as a traitor. The lieutenant of count Nassau, the three petardeers, Bribe, Laurence Brulard, and the two officers of the arsenal were hung up in the same manner, after having suffered the rack with the same constancy. But Brainville, Theodore, and above three hundred officers were only strangled or drowned privately.

In the mean time Jaffier, in desperation at the dismal consequence of his compassion, made loud complaints of the doge's and council's not keeping the promise they had made in favour of his companions. It was not indeed violated till after mature deliberation ;

nay, several among them were for having it religiously adhered to : others remonstrated that, had the conspiracy been made known by Jaffier only, it might be a matter of doubt, but that the two natives of Dauphiny having likewise revealed it, the senate was at full liberty to act after the same manner as though Jaffier had made no discovery. This advice carried it, being supported by the public consternation and horror, though much might have been urged on the other side of the question.

Every method was taken to appease Jaffier. They offered him money and employment ; but he would accept of nothing. He persisted, but to no purpose, in demanding the lives of his companions ; and at length left the city, inconsolable for their punishment. The senate, being informed of it, dispatched messengers after him, and sent him four thousand chequins, which were forced upon him, together with an order to quit the territories of the republic in three days upon pain of death. The pity he felt for his companions redoubled upon him as often as he reflected that

that he had been the cause of their destruction. He learnt upon the road that the design upon Brescia was still in a condition to succeed. The desire of being revenged on the senate prompted him to go and fling himself into that town. But, the ten having discovered that affair by some papers of the conspirators, scarcely was he got thither when some troops arrived, who took possession of the principal posts, and put several Spaniards, who had been introduced there, to the sword. Jaffier was taken fighting at the head of them like a man who sought only to sell his life dearly ; and being brought to Venice a few days after, he was there drowned the day after his arrival.

The death of this unhappy man having compleated the restoring tranquillity to this noble city, the first care of the senate was to demand another ambassador from Madrid. Don Lewis Bravo was presently nominated for that employ, with orders to set out immediately : and the marquis of Bedamar (according to custom) gave him instructions in writing ; which instructions might be reduced

duced in a manner to these two points. The first was, that the new ambassador should upon all occasions exclaim loudly against the conduct of his predecessor, and affect a quite contrary one even in the most indifferent things. The other that, in all the affairs he should have to negociate relative to the rights and pre-eminencies of the republic, he should consult, instead of all other memoirs, the Squittino della Liberta Veneta, to which the marquis refers him in several places in these instructions, and in terms which, though modest, discover sufficiently his paternal fondness for that libel.

Soon after there was published, both by sound of trumpet and in writing throughout all the territories of the republic, a prohibition, on pain of death, to impute any part of the conspiracy either to the king of Spain or to the Spaniards. Thirty thousand ducats were given to the two natives of Dauphiny, who came from their own country to discover it. Don Pedro, seeing every thing past retrieval, disbanded the rest of his troops, and surrendered Vercelli. The duke of Ossuna set
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the captain's wife and children at liberty, and was much their friend. The marquis of Bedamar had an order from Spain to go and serve as first minister in Flanders ; and, a few years after, a cardinal's hat was sent him from Rome.

F I N I S.